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Peace News

Editorial

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When *Peace News* went to press it was too early to judge whether the cease fire would be maintained, but one fact had emerged clearly: the crisis has made it essential to stop further postponement of finding a solution to the island's problems.

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In addition, because of its effects on NATO, America and Britain cannot allow an open war between Turkey and Greece to develop. A collapse of the eastern wing of the alliance would provide a convenient opening for communism. (America can exert considerable pressure on both Turkey and Greece. The amount of aid received by Greece in the fiscal year which ended June 30, 1963, was 31.5 million dollars. Turkey received 127.5 million dollars in the same year.)

There was hope on Tuesday that Mr Tuomioja, the United Nations mediator in the Cyprus dispute, would manage to get talks going between Greek and Turkish delegates in Geneva. The previous refusal of the Greeks to talk to the Turks, because they felt that talks would only underline existing differences and would not bring a solution

the demands that the Turks have made as conditions for their part in the cease-fire must be met. They insist that the Greek Cypriots withdraw to positions held before August 5. This would mean that the Greek Cypriots would have to give up three Turkish Cypriot villages in the north-west of the island which they have occupied since that date. They are not likely to surrender them easily. And with Turkish "reconnaissance flights" continuing until the Greek forces move back, another crisis could flare up at any time. It can only be hoped that the Greeks will see a settlement of long-term grievances as more urgent than their immediate political aims.

The solutions suggested for the long-term problems have been various and none of them seems particularly satisfactory. Makarios has already rejected *enosis* (the union of Cyprus with Greece) coupled with adequate recompense for Turkey and the Turkish Cypriots, in-

opposed by the Turks.

Any workable solution will involve a revision of the constitution that the Governments of Britain, Greece and Turkey forced on the Cypriot people in 1959. But whatever happens, the Turkish Cypriots must be made to feel secure. If this is achieved by some kind of independent guarantee, it will be of little use if the relationship of hatred and distrust between the two peoples continues to exist.

As was argued in an article in *Peace News*, February 21:

"The initial responsibility lies with the Greek Cypriots, as the dominant group, to win the trust of the Turks. It is no use simply promising to respect Turkish rights as Makarios has several times done in the past few weeks; they must act in such a way that the Turks will trust them to do so. After the events of the last few years, this is an almost superhuman

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On Tuesday it appeared that Russia was refusing to become involved in the conflict, President Shazar of Israel had also refused to take sides and had sent 10,000 dollars through Red Cross to be used to help Greek and Turkish casualties, and Egypt was taking up a stand as an "observer." But even the threat of the

conflict moving into a wider arena made its resolution more urgent.

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The solutions suggested for the long-term problems have been various and none of them seems particularly satisfactory. Makarios has already rejected *enosis* (the union of Cyprus with Greece) coupled with adequate recompense for Turkey and the Turkish Cypriots, including some form of base in the island for Turkey, and there is no sign that the Turks would accept any such plan.

The setting up of an international frontier across the island, which would make complete partition between the two communities, has also been rejected by the Greeks. And Makarios's apparent aim of establishing an independent Greek-Cypriot state would obviously be

opposed by the Turks.

Any workable solution will involve a revision of the constitution that the Governments of Britain, Greece and Turkey forced on the Cypriot people in 1959. But whatever happens, the Turkish Cypriots must be made to feel secure. If this is achieved by some kind of independent guarantee, it will be of little use if the relationship of hatred and distrust between the two peoples continues to exist.

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Perhaps the recent violence has made the task even more difficult, but one result of it has been to make the Greeks less of a dominant group. Turkey's show of strength, and the lack of outside support for the Greek-Cypriot effort, must cause Makarios to think again.

Theodore Roszak

VIETNAM CRISIS

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VIETNAM: CRISIS TO ORDER

Crises are handy political devices. They are easily engineered these days, given the frightening concentration of power modern governments enjoy and the appalling control of information the excitement-seeking mass media wield. And they are, if well staged, the cheapest and quickest way of producing a national consensus on even extremely involved issues. In the heat of crisis, even the most critical intelligence tends to narrow its focus and invest itself in the emergency at hand. Alternatives vanish. Complexities dissolve. One's sense of history is overwhelmed by the critical moment; the tangled rights and wrongs of the policies that produced the crisis are dropped from mind. There seems to be no practical course but to trust "our side," accept official accounts, and cast one's lot with the powers that be, until (hopefully) the crisis passes and there is more time to sort things out.

Obviously, nothing is more important than that one resist the pressure of such an enforced consensus and remain critical of both the crisis and of the political context which surrounds it. For the crisis grows out of an historical

sequence, out of a total policy framework, and it changes that framework not in the least.

In Vietnam the United States remains in a position as hopelessly compromised as ever. It is prosecuting a cruel and futile war (albeit against cruel and totalitarian enemies) on behalf of dictatorial regimes that offer no humane and constructive response to the needs of the Vietnamese people. As time goes on, the greater the American presence bulks in Vietnam, the more severely the political life of that troubled nation is bound to be warped, the more embittered are its healthy aspirations bound to become.

No matter how dastardly the North Vietnamese torpedo boat attack (and US officials now seem to think that it was not deliberate aggression, but the outcome of muddle), that event does nothing to redeem the confusion of blunders and injustices American policy has become in SE Asia. It remains as difficult as ever to see how Washington could do any greater service to the Vietnamese than to seize the nearest

continued on page 4



"On second thoughts, I suppose your challenge was unintentional."

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PLEASE LISTEN IN to Bishop Trevor Huddleston's appeal for children in Tanganyika on the Home Service, Sunday Aug. 16 at 8.25 p.m.

STUDENT VOLUNTEERS invited to help Peace News during their holidays. Pre-packing Christmas cards, "spring" cleaning, despatch and general help. Fares and lunches paid. Monday-Friday, 9.30-6. (Wed. to 9.30 p.m.) Write, phone (TER 4473) or call, 5 Caledonian Road, Kings Cross, N.1.

WORKING MAN (early 50s), vegetarian, fond children and animals, wishes contact lady. Little boy or small family welcome. Box 326.

Holidays

MANOR HOUSE HOTEL, North Parade, Whitley Bay (Tel 20568). Sea view, TV lounge, parking accommodation. Terms 12s 6d per day B & B, children at reduced rates. OAPs £2 19s 6d per week.

Publications

CONTACT - a South African Liberal fortnightly with inside news of the struggle against apartheid and colonialism. 6 months 8s 9d, 12 months 17s. Box 1979, Cape Town, S.A.

DISCUSS "Alternatives to War and Violence" this winter. 24 eminent contributors. 8s. 3d post free from Leonard Caton, "Newlands,"

Long Rd, Lawford, Manningtree, Essex.

HOUSMANS (the Peace News booksellers) for all peace literature and books, posters, leaflets or campaign materials. Sale or return selections for meetings, etc. Send s.a.e. or call for latest list and SOR terms. 5 Caledonian Road, Kings Cross, London N.1.

SARVODAYA - monthly magazine of the Bhoo-dan Movement in India, may be obtained from Housmans Bookshop, 5 Caledonian Road, London N.1 at 12s yearly or 1s (post 3d) each issue.

THE RAILWAY REVIEW - weekly railwaymen's paper. Essential reading for those who want the authentic voice of railway workers. Obtainable 9s a quarter post free from 205 Euston Road, N.W.1.

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD for August contains articles of special interest to all who oppose war. Send PO 2s for this issue and 100 page pamphlet on war in modern society, to Dept PN, Socialist Party of GB, 52 Clapham High St, London S.W.4.

Accommodation vacant

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Accommodation wanted

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Diary

As this is a free service we reserve the right to select from notices sent in. To make the service as complete as possible, we urge organisers to:

1. Send entries to arrive not later than first post Monday (Friday preferred).
2. Include date, town, time, place (hall, street), nature of event, speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

To publicise full details, book a classified or displayed advertisement.

Remember to order copies of Peace News for your advertised meeting: Sale or Return. From: Circulation Dept., 5 Caledonian Rd., N.1.

14 August, Friday

BIRMINGHAM. 7.30 p.m. 233 Bristol Road (corner Priory Rd) Flat 11. Working group, West Midlands C'ttee of 100.

BIRMINGHAM. 7.45 p.m. The Salutation, Snow Hill. Jazz - all profits to CND.

BRIGHTON. 1 p.m. Friends Mtg House, Ship St. Picnic lunch and discussion. Tea provided, bring own food. In aid of Friends relief work overseas.

15 August, Saturday

LEICESTER. 10 a.m. Gaumont Cinema, Market Place. Peace News selling. Contact David Lane, 1 Wentworth Road, phone 21958.

LONDON S.E.3. 10 a.m. 141 Woolacombe Road, Kidbrooke. All-day leafleting, literature selling, canvassing. Phone LEE 6349. Fellowship Party.

LONDON W.C.2. 3-7 p.m. Outside South Africa House, Trafalgar Sq. Poster vigil. C'ttee of 100.

17 August, Monday

LONDON W.C.1. 7.30 p.m. 6 Endsleigh St. London C'ttee of 100 working group meeting.

17-22 August, Mon-Sat

HAYWARDS HEATH. Elnsward. Anglican Pacifist Fellowship conference. "The last 50 years - the next 50 years?" Speakers inc George Innes (SoF), Irene Jacoby, Francis Noble, Tom Scrutton, Paul Gliddon and Donald Reece. Details from 29 Great James St, W.C.1.

19 August, Wednesday

LONDON W.1. 5.30-7 p.m. Outside American Embassy, Grosvenor Sq. Poster picket. London C'ttee of 100.

20 August, Thursday

LONDON E.11. 8 p.m. Friends Mtg House, Bush Road. Cliff Giles: "Children and Mental Health." PPU.

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LONDON W.C.2. 3-7 p.m. Outside South
Africa House, Trafalgar Sq. Poster vigil.
C'ttee of 100.
OXFORD. 10 a.m. to 1 p.m. Carfax. Peace
News selling.
TWICKENHAM. 11 a.m. Kings Head, Twicken-
ham Junc. Open air meeting, Michael Craft.
Phone EAL 6520 or TED 4864. INDEC.

16 August, Sunday

LONDON W.1. 3-4.30 p.m. Outside American
Embassy, Grosvenor Sq. Poster picket. London
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22-29 August, Sat - Sat

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rents." Apply to: Race Relations C'ttee of the
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23 August, Sunday

LONDON W.1. 3-4.30 p.m. Outside American
Embassy, Grosvenor Sq. Poster picket. London
C'ttee of 100.

24 August, Monday

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London C'ttee of 100 working group mtg.

26 August, Wednesday

LONDON W.1. 5.30-7 p.m. Outside American
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C'ttee of 100.

27 August, Thursday

LONDON E.11. 8 p.m. Friends Mtg House,
Bush Road. Discussion on Nelson Mandela
statement. PPU.

5-6 September, Sat - Sun

GODSTONE, Surrey. Youth Forum: "Educa-
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contributions by Adam Roberts,
Jerome Frank, Arne Naess, Gene
Sharp

foreword by Alastair Buchan,
Director of the Institute for
Strategic Studies

In the autumn of 1962 Denise and Harry Pyle, Quakers and active supporters of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, decided to turn their home at Frodsham, near the south bank of the Mersey estuary, into a centre for non-violence - for study and action. Barnaby Martin is at present full-time organiser for the centre - known as the Borrowdale Peace Action Centre. The centre is devoted to assisting peace work of many types in the Cheshire and Lancashire areas.

Barnaby Martin has been helping to organise the current Anglo-French project, which includes work camps and discussion conferences in this country and France and which will culminate with a demonstration outside the NATO headquarters in Paris.

The British work camp has been taking place at Frodsham over the past few weeks. The first week involved constructive work for old people, children, and for the community as a whole. Gardens were dug, playgrounds cleared and overgrown pathways opened up. When very heavy rainstorms hit Frodsham on July 18 and one of the main streets became a torrent of water the team gave emergency help to the local people in coping with the flood and its aftermath.

Barnaby Martin writes here about the attitudes of the British team members of the Anglo-French project to constructive voluntary work and its relevance to campaigning for a peaceful, non-violent society.

In our team there are various points of view on the impact of voluntary work on the community. I will try to present the ideas that are held in common by the British members of the team.

We each of us seek to change society towards a basis which is less dependent on the earnings system. Some of us believe that it is possible to replace the earnings system completely. All of us feel that our opposition to this system and our practice of voluntary work has an application in every community in the world, not just where there is extreme poverty.

One quality of constructive work is that it is applied to those who are most in need. We can find greater needs in Liverpool than Frodsham, and yet greater needs in Litowa, a village in Tanganyika which is being aided by Frodsham War on Want.

However, there are other qualities which make up an effective programme of voluntary work and propaganda for peace. There is already an International Voluntary Service organisation in Liverpool with more volunteers than can be organised, but Frodsham has hardly heard of the idea of voluntary work. Also in Frodsham we can be certain that the follow-up work will be done effectively, since the Peace Action Centre will remain after the team has left.

The sort of society that we wish to move towards (not all of us believe that a complete change is possible) is variously called anarchist, non-violent, voluntary, free, community. Its essential features are that it will not involve

money for themselves and their families or that we behave morally only because the law will punish us when we err.

Work will have to be done because people perceive a need, or because it is enjoyable. So firstly we need to encourage people to work in response to their social consciences - as some work is done now - not for selfish reasons. Secondly, we shall have to show people that work, in a wide sense, is a necessity for a healthy life.

In trying to move the present society in the desired direction we seek ways of finding springs of voluntary action. After the recent floods, we know that we have found one. We helped the people in Frodsham in a spectacular way. They did not respond with the commercial reaction which is the foundation of our economic system, but they responded voluntarily and generously. Instead of considering how much money they had saved on the rates, they considered our needs, provided drink, gave food, even gave money to buy food. The pubs gave also, but not to us. Theirs was a finer action. In recognition of the voluntary attitude which we had practised, they collected money not for us, but for those who have greater need in Tanganyika. This was a tremendous success. We haven't changed society but we have created a firm new influence here.

During our other work we have brought out the same response, but in smaller ways. Sometimes it has been through the lending of tools, sometimes a greater gift - their interest. Because we have helped, they have become interested in

Anglo-French group's constructive work for peace at Frodsham

position does not exist in military judgment. It is a different approach to relationships between people. So also in work. For a while, a man who has money may think that our voluntary work is good for him because it saves him money. But in fact he comes to realise that our work has no meaning in commercial terms. The relationship which we have proposed by our voluntary work affects him. He is now inclined to think in generous terms about us, or, better still, about others.

If our ideas affect him, he will be inclined to consider as his responsibility some of the needs of poorer members of society. This is our victory; in the same way as the militarist is forced to think of people as real people, not as opponents, and is forced to respond to his conscience more than his orders, or the desire for a military victory. Indeed, we have made a genuine military victory impossible.

It is true that in helping the poorest people we have done good. Nobody would deny that. But it is still valuable to assist those who could even pay for the work we do. Then we do not only give service, but an education in the generous and social aspects of human nature. Slowly we can move towards a system where work is done because it is needed. Next time there is snow on the ground or a flood in Church Street, or a footpath overgrown, it should be the people of Frodsham who will do the work, especially if the new voluntary work group is a success.

The commercial society in which we live

Of course it is not rich people that this work camp has helped, but there is no barrier in our minds for doing voluntary work for the rich. They may be richer than ourselves, and this is the source of a useful lesson for them, because they can wonder why those that are poorer than themselves give voluntary service. In time, such people may come to consider the starving millions as their responsibility and give more than they ever received in service.

The town council is an organisation intimately bound up with the earnings system. It makes decisions on the work that should be done, then offers money to anyone who will do it for them. Those who are unemployed and need money must accept this bribe in order to live satisfactorily. (This is the same situation as in all commercial organisations.) We feel that most, if not all, of the functions of a town council in such a place as Frodsham (pop. 6,000) can be done through a voluntary system, where the council members discover what work is needed, then do it. Large items of work will need organisation by voluntary work groups.

For these reasons we are not much interested in councils other than for the functions which ultimately they should have. We have used the council for information on old people's needs and where to borrow tools, but we are not keen to accept their money, nor involve ourselves in their decision-making system.

Up to now, I have described the value of voluntary work for its own sake. But

Frodsham War Want. However, there are other qualities which make up an effective programme of voluntary work and propaganda for peace. There is already an International Voluntary Service organisation in Liverpool with more volunteers than can be organised, but Frodsham has hardly heard of the idea of voluntary work. Also in Frodsham we can be certain that the follow-up work will be done effectively, since the Peace Action Centre will remain after the team has left.

The sort of society that we wish to move towards (not all of us believe that a complete change is possible) is variously called anarchist, non-violent, voluntary, free, community. Its essential features are that it will not involve authority nor will provision for the needs of a man be dependent on what he has given. Neither bargaining nor an earnings system is sought.

Another way of saying this is that it will be necessary in such a society to draw people into action through their social responses, rather than forcing them to act through selfish motives. We shall have to end the system whereby work is done only because people seek

considering how much money they had saved on the rates, they considered our needs, provided drink, gave food, even gave money to buy food. The pubs gave also, but not to us. Theirs was a finer action. In recognition of the voluntary attitude which we had practised, they collected money not for us, but for those who have greater need in Tanganyika. This was a tremendous success. We haven't changed society but we have created a firm new influence here.

During our other work we have brought out the same response, but in smaller ways. Sometimes it has been through the lending of tools, sometimes a greater gift - their interest. Because we have helped, they have become interested in our ideas. Some ask what we get for doing this work. They have not yet escaped from an entirely commercial attitude.

We are not providing cheap labour, because the effect of our work must not be judged in commercial terms. What we have done gives rise to quite different thoughts. For example, the only meaning of non-violence in military terms is surrender. In time the militarist may realise that our non-violent

desire for a military victory. Indeed, we have made a genuine military victory impossible.

It is true that in helping the poorest people we have done good. Nobody would deny that. But it is still valuable to assist those who could even pay for the work we do. Then we do not only give service, but an education in the generous and social aspects of human nature. Slowly we can move towards a system where work is done because it is needed. Next time there is snow on the ground or a flood in Church Street, or a footpath overgrown, it should be the people of Frodsham who will do the work, especially if the new voluntary work group is a success.

The commercial society in which we live is poor in social feeling, especially among the rich. They are only rich because they have failed to give their excess to those who need it. We might try to take it from them by force, or use the force of government, through taxes, to adjust the situation a little. We prefer the non-violent way, where we actually start giving to the rich people, hoping to open their eyes to a better way of living.

tions.) We feel that most, if not all, of the functions of a town council in such a place as Frodsham (pop. 6,000) can be done through a voluntary system, where the council members discover what work is needed, then do it. Large items of work will need organisation by voluntary work groups.

For these reasons we are not much interested in councils other than for the functions which ultimately they should have. We have used the council for information on old people's needs and where to borrow tools, but we are not keen to accept their money, nor involve ourselves in their decision-making system.

Up to now, I have described the value of voluntary work for its own sake. But it has a value for peacemaking too. Firstly, I have already shown the similarity between non-violent resistance and voluntary action to undermine the earnings system. Naturally we can take the idea of drawing generous responses from people into the field of international relations. How can we best draw considerate feelings from Soviet or American people? Perhaps the best way is to conduct this sort of work camp in the USSR or USA and have people here from those regions to do voluntary work. The spirit of giving is the most powerful force to undermine fear and hate. There is much more to be done between people from different regions of the world. Work camps without any political aspect may be quite wasted.

In practical terms people in Frodsham know that it was pacifists and ban-the-bombers who cleared Church Street on flood Saturday. They have been prepared to open their ears to our fearful ideas. I know some that are still too afraid to speak freely with us, though they would like to. Our activity has shown us how frightened people normally are of even speaking with a "ban-the-bomber."

The CND badge in Frodsham has taken on a new meaning; one that people here are grateful for. Even if they don't see the connection between voluntary work and pacifism, Frodsham people have at least listened to the ideas of pacifists because they have done constructive work.

French group says: 'why we came'

Joseph Pyronnet, one of the organisers of the French Action Civique Non-Violente, and eleven other French volunteers who have been working at Frodsham have made the following comments as to why they have come to England, and about their peace work in France.

We have come to England to know what British people think of non-violence, of peace action and to know how British pacifists work; to have discussions about various methods of work for peace; to lay the basis for international co-operation for peace. In big international meetings, it is hard for pacifists to get to know one another personally. It is much easier when we live together. That is why we wanted to form an international team of volunteers for a month of work in France.

In trying to work for peace in France we feel we must first experiment with the organisation and practice of team work. It is wrong to obey orders blindly, without thinking; it is equally wrong to give orders without sharing decision-making with others, and it is wrong to forget that one is part of a team and act separately, without involving others.

It is easy to refuse military discipline and criticise a society which is based on punishments and threats. It is easy to oppose the government or protest against a military base, but it is difficult to organise a coherent and lasting project

in which everyone shares the responsibilities. It is hard to be self-disciplined and to trust that others will be too, but this is a necessary foundation for peace. Team work is a good schooling for self-discipline.

Most people think that the purpose of work is to earn money. Everybody wants less work and more money. This is one of the causes of violence. We help the poor and the victims of social segregation or the struggle for money. We show that work is primarily a service and not a means of acquiring money for oneself. This is an important part of working for peace.

In France, when we organise a work camp, we like to work for those who really need help. We do jobs that would never be done without our voluntary help. We don't like to be regarded as

cheap labour and allow the government or even charities to save money through our work. We don't want to compete with ordinary labour by taking their jobs.

We shall be in France in August, with ten British volunteers, helping a family which lives in a two-roomed house. Parents and eleven children live in this small house. The father was a labourer, but is now ill and poor, and desperate. He has built the outside walls and roof, but we will continue his work by constructing internal walls, ceilings, doors, windows, floors, etc.

At the same time, another team will be working in a neighbouring town on the excavation of an old church. In response to this work, the town council is providing food and accommodation for both teams.

PRISONERS EX-PRISONERS HUMAN BEINGS?

After being in prison for Committee of 100 activities it is hard enough to retain your sanity and start becoming a human being again - let alone worrying about your accumulated bills and where to get the next meal. Our "long-term" prisoners will be out soon. Pat Arrowsmith and Brian McGee are due out in October. Terry Chandler, veteran of the 1963 Greek demonstrations, was released on Monday - he needs immediate aid. Others already released also require assistance. Please help us to alleviate their financial problems.

WELFARE GROUP (COMMITTEE OF 100) GROUND FLOOR, 88 PARK AVENUE, ENFIELD, MIDDLESEX

VIETNAM from front page

chance at hand to negotiate itself out of Vietnam as soon as an orderly troop removal can be managed and appropriate safeguards arranged (perhaps by way of evacuation and generous resettlement at American expense) for those against whom the Viet Cong, when they eventually come to power, might take reprisals. In much of South East Asia, the tide of history is currently against the West and it is not force of arms, but only the long-range influence of economic aid and technical assistance that can regain for Western society the goodwill of a people it has for so long dominated and exploited. As for the crisis itself, nothing is more difficult to pin down than military events at sea, the more so where one has only official bulletins to rely upon; but even if the Tonkin Gulf incident took place as first reported - suddenly and without immediate reason - all the rest of the crisis was an exquisite display of calculated diplomatic manipulation on the part of the Johnson administration. The event was immediately caught up in all the ingenious paraphernalia of a first-class war scare: the hurried gather-

ing of the super-secret National Security Council, the hush-hush conference with bi-partisan Congressional leadership, the late-night Presidential statement to the public, the sudden large-scale troop movements, the Presidential appeal to Congress for emergency, executive authority. To all these cues, the mass media responded like a well-trained animal: saturation radio-television coverage of every official nuance and gesture, black banner headlines hinting of disaster, a continuous stream of bulletins and late reports over the air. Within several hours the foolishly botched efforts of a few out-dated torpedo-boats to molest the Seventh Fleet had been worked up into a new cold war Armageddon. Everything the "free world" stands for was suddenly in jeopardy. The usual allusions to Munich began to accumulate. Even sinking the offending torpedo boats was not a sufficient deterrent to appeasement: something more would have to be done, of course. By the weekend, President Johnson had his emergency authority from Congress. Only two Senators, Gruening of Alaska and the

ever-troublesome Wayne Morse, managed to preserve their independence of mind and oppose the emergency act.

The convenient thing about crises is that they need have no objective correlative. Any event can become anything official circles care to make of it. If political leaders say everything is at stake, then, automatically, everything is at stake and no course of action is too extreme.

As so often in the past, one can be more impressed by the sheer fact of crisis, by the smoothly efficient dynamics of emergency-making as practised by the modern state, than by the specific content of the crisis. For it may ultimately be the capacity of our nation-states to generate crises rather than any political issues the crises are related to that will do us all in.

On the face of it, there seems no reason for Washington to take greater offence at this attack than at the markedly more destructive attacks Viet Cong forces have carried out against US helicopters and their American crews. After all, in the Tonkin Gulf incident, American forces suffered no damage at all. They defended their honour with despatch and complete success - which would seem a sufficient response.

Nor can a prima facie case be made that the torpedo boat attack is a radical new departure, clearly the opening of a new stage in the hostilities in SE Asia. The United States and the North Vietnamese are the allies of different sides in a bitter civil war; they have clashed in one way or another, with many weapons in many places. The presence of American warships within 30 miles of the North Vietnamese coast makes for a touchy situation; clearly that is why the American ships were warships - prepared to do battle - rather than coast guard patrol boats.

What then explains the Johnson administration's dramatic reaction to the incident?

Conceivably the American bombings are to serve as the first step towards expanding the war to North Vietnam. Rumours of such a move have been in the wind for months. It is difficult to see, however, whose interest would be served by such an extension of the conflict, besides that of General Khanh. Just as the Korean war made Syngman Rhee indis-

heavy casualties of a new war. As for the Hanoi regime and the National Liberation Front it supports: the present guerilla war is running greatly in their favour. From their viewpoint, there would seem to be little purpose in enlarging the conflict.

Of course not all politicians are wholly rational and no crisis is completely manageable. Any heated international confrontation can explode despite the plans and intentions of the participants. That is why it is nothing but hideously irresponsible for any government to create or seek to exploit such emergencies for any reason. The massing of armies at the border between North and South Vietnam (especially given the announced designs of General Khanh to extend the war) is exactly the sort of combustible situation enlightened diplomacy seeks to avoid.

But barring the calamity of a new Korea-type war, the Tonkin Gulf incident will probably stand as the shrewdest manoeuvre of the 1964 American Presidential campaign. There are two issues which Barry Goldwater has sought to exploit in his quest for the presidency. One is the racial issue, the other Vietnam. Over the last several weeks Lyndon Johnson has clearly taken a beating on the racial issue. The New York and New Jersey race riots have driven the votes of many frightened whites to Barry Goldwater, who, it is wishfully assumed, will somehow put a stop to the racial revolution in America.

The bombing of North Vietnam not only distract public attention from the racial problem, where it has been strongly fixed for many weeks, but it makes it impossible for Goldwater to claim that President Johnson is not acting with decision in South East Asia. The action forces Goldwater to drop Vietnam as an issue or to take the fatal step of advocating an even more belligerent course. And nobody gets elected President by calling for war.

Doubtless, in the wake of the crisis, the President's popularity will climb several points in the public opinion polls and the critical discussion of America's SE Asian policy will shrivel to nothing. In all this grim and cynical business which has seen the life of at least one American sacrificed to the politics

JOHN BALL'S COLUMN

More vagueness

"In our time, political speech and writing are largely the defence of the indefensible... political language has to consist largely of euphemism, question-begging and sheer cloudy vagueness. Defenceless villages are bombed from the air, the inhabitants driven out into the countryside, the cattle machine-gunned, the huts set on fire with incendiary bullets: this is called pacification."

George Orwell wrote that over 15 years ago, and it is still true. President Johnson's television statement about Vietnam on August 5, for example, included the following passage:

"In the larger sense, this new act of aggression, aimed directly at our own forces, again brings home to all of us in the United States the importance of the struggle for peace and security in South-East Asia. Aggression by

ing issue, which contains the second part of Dave Dellinger's report on a recent visit to Cuba. On sale at Housmans, price 3s.

On the whole computers get a pretty bad press. People who earn their livings by writing and saying how awful everything is, and how it is all going to get much worse, always like to depict the computer as the big villain that will be running everything with relentless and inhuman efficiency in the year 2000.

People mistrust computers because they are so efficient, because they work so fast and because they are so accurate. They do things we can't do, or if we could would take us much longer. In fact they remind us irresistibly of the school swot. And computers are no more popular than school swots are, and

to consist largely of euphemism, question-begging and sheer cloudy vagueness. Defenceless villages are bombarded from the air, the inhabitants driven out into the countryside, the cattle machine-gunned, the huts set on fire with incendiary bullets: this is called *pacification*."

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"In the larger sense, this new act of aggression, aimed directly at our own forces, again brings home to all of us in the United States the importance of the struggle for peace and security in South-East Asia. Aggression by terror against the peaceful villages of South Vietnam has now been joined by open aggression on the high seas against the United States of America. The determination of all Americans to carry out our full commitment to the people and Government of South Vietnam will be redoubled by this outrage."

In this passage, as well as entirely random clichés (e.g. "in the larger sense,") President Johnson has slipped into vagueness at exactly those points where he would otherwise have had to say what his policy involved: his phrase, "our full commitment," conceals napalm bombing, shelling of villages, destruction of crops, herding people into strategic hamlets, and propping up a government which has virtually no popular support.

An even worse example, I think, is that of Judge Ross W. Harper of the US District Court in St Louis, who on July 6 sentenced a conscientious objector, Russ Goddard, to five years' imprisonment for refusing to report for call-up. Before passing sentence, the judge said:

"I am glad I live in a country where anyone can take the position you do. You enjoy your freedom here because of the blood, sweat, toil and tears given by millions."

To call a man "free" who you are just about to lock up for five years seems to me to be Grade A Newspeak; 1984's Ministry of Love could be proud of it. But Judge Harper really exists: George Orwell didn't have to invent him.

The only thing which disturbed Judge Harper's day was that two friends of Russ Goddard staged a sit-in in his office, demanding that he should be released or that they also be imprisoned. They each got six months for contempt of court - but not until the judge had tried to talk them out of it. The whole story is written up in the August 1964 issue of *Liberation* - an exceptionally interest-

price 3s. * * *
On the whole computers get a pretty bad press. People who earn their livings by writing and saying how awful everything is, and how it is all going to get much worse, always like to depict the computer as the big villain that will be running everything with relentless and inhuman efficiency in the year 2000.

People mistrust computers because they are so efficient, because they work so fast and because they are so accurate. They do things we can't do, or if we could would take us much longer. In fact they remind us irresistibly of the school swot. And computers are no more popular than school swots are, and every time they get the right answer they become a bit more unpopular.

For me this view of computers was modified by Margaret Masterman's article in the August 6 *Times Literary Supplement*. "To some people," she says, "a digital computer is a mark of doom: a symbol of Man's increasing servitude to the machine. To others it is a gigantic multiple switch which, under favourable conditions, operates with the speed of light, but which only too often, e.g. when it gets too hot, will not operate at all." So they are not infallibly efficient after all.

Nor are they so coldly and mechanically inhuman as we might have thought. Margaret Masterman tells us that the Manchester University computer was programmed to write love letters. The following was a typical product:

DEAR HONEY-DEW
YOU ARE MY GREATEST WHISKERS
MY UTTER MOONBEAM
YOURS BEAUTIFULLY
MANCHESTER UNIVERSITY
COMPUTER

which seems to me a real breakthrough in writing love letters. Another computer said STEAM IS SHINY and Miss Masterman quotes this bit of computer dialogue: WHY AREN'T YOU DRESSED? I THOUGHT I WAS.

So perhaps government by computer may in the end be preferable to government by whatever it is we've got at the moment.

Incidentally the August 6 issue of *The Times Literary Supplement* in which Margaret Masterman's article appeared is an extraordinarily good ninepence worth. It is concerned with the avant-garde in literature, and as well as containing many examples of avant-garde writing has articles by, among others, Allen Ginsberg, W. S. Burroughs, John Arden, Maurice Girodias and Jonathan Miller.

weapons in many places. The presence of American warships within 30 miles of the North Vietnamese coast makes for a touchy situation; clearly that is why the American ships were warships - prepared to do battle - rather than coast guard patrol boats.

What then explains the Johnson administration's dramatic reaction to the incident? Conceivably the American bombings are to serve as the first step towards expanding the war to North Vietnam. Rumours of such a move have been in the wind for months. It is difficult to see, however, whose interest would be served by such an extension of the conflict, besides that of General Khanh. Just as the Korean war made Syngman Rhee indispensable to the West, a big war in Vietnam could save the General's shaky position. War is the life's blood of regimes like these, and General Khanh has been quick, in the wake of the bombings, to grasp for the security of martial law in South Vietnam.

But the Johnson administration has little to gain by turning Vietnam into another Korea. At present it is Senator Goldwater who must struggle against the charge of being a trigger-happy warmonger. The Democrats would scarcely want to lose that electoral advantage by assuming the responsibility for the

the bombing of North Vietnam not only distract public attention from the racial problem, where it has been strongly fixed for many weeks, but it makes it impossible for Goldwater to claim that President Johnson is not acting with decision in South East Asia. The action forces Goldwater to drop Vietnam as an issue or to take the fatal step of advocating an even more belligerent course. And nobody gets elected President by calling for war.

Doubtless, in the wake of the crisis, the President's popularity will climb several points in the public opinion polls and the critical discussion of America's SE Asian policy will shrivel to nothing. In all this grim and cynical business which has seen the life of at least one American flier sacrificed to the politics of a presidential election, it was of course Senator Goldwater who inadvertently managed to strike the most sickly-comic note of the week. At the press conference in which he announced his support for President Johnson's action, Goldwater remarked, "I think America has been taking too much from the communists and always turning the other cheek."

One wishes there had been a reporter at hand impudent enough to ask the Senator where he had picked up that quaint and dimly familiar phrase about the other cheek.

Crisis flares in Downing St

THE TIMES TUESDAY AUGUST 11



The Cyprus situation brought many visitors to 10, Downing Street yesterday. Among them was Mr. Wilson, who had injured his face while on holiday, and Mr. David Bruce (right), the American Ambassador. The Prime Minister had a bandaged finger when he came to the door to say goodbye.

A heroin fix (photo: John Hopkins)

Drug addicts who cure themselves

Theodore Roszak

Synanon: the therapeutic community

There is perhaps no modern city where the sense of community is so dissipated as in Los Angeles. Indeed, it is doubtful that Los Angeles is a city at all in any traditional sense of the word; perhaps the area requires another designation entirely. This sprawling congeries of small towns, beach resorts, housing tracts, and newly spawned suburbs, ponderously stitched together by eight-lane freeways, lacks even the physical integrity of a metropolis. It is an assemblage of people, structures, and diffuse social relations without a cultural centre or political focus, the pattern of which has been dictated by the mechanical capacities of the automobile.

ber's self-image, then trying to build up a more realistic sense of personal value. (It is from these sessions, for which the word "synanon" has been coined, that the experiment as a whole derives its name.) Secondly, the discontinuous relationship of AA members had to be replaced by a permanent living situation, in which recuperating addicts would remain in constant interaction, relying upon one another's guidance.

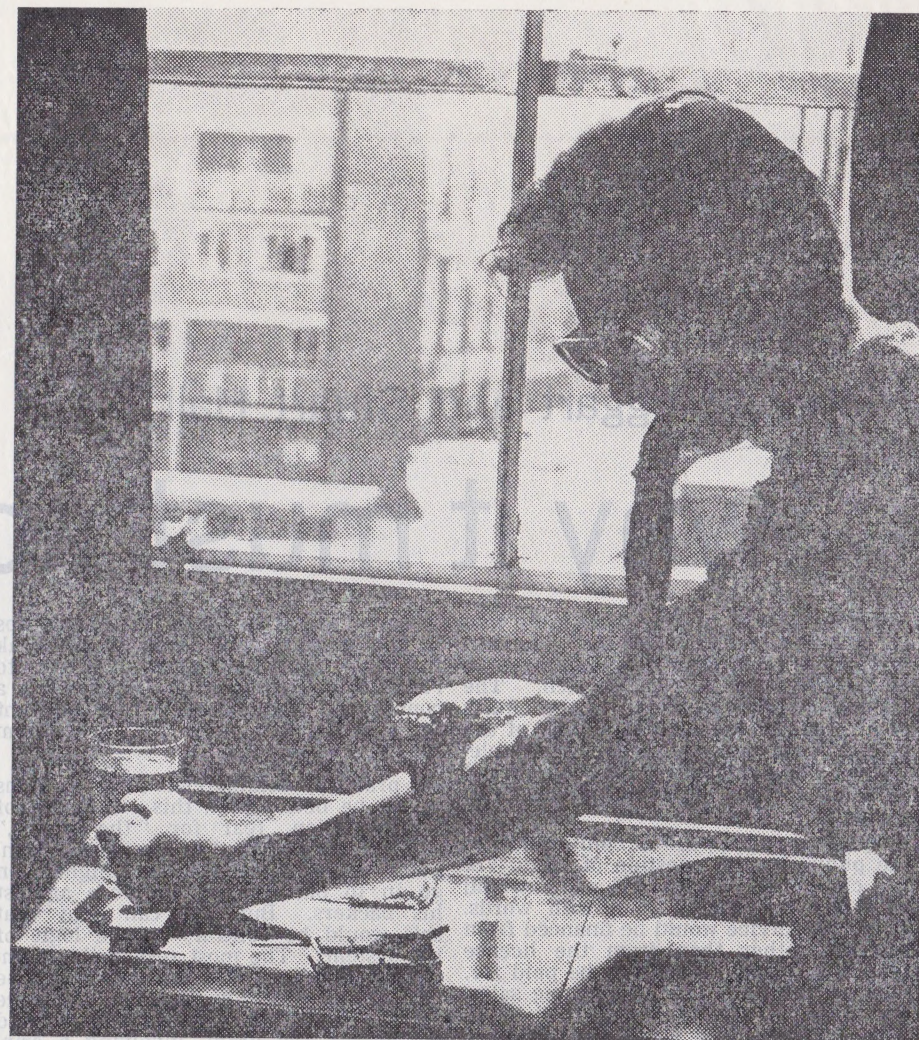
Currently, there are 450 former addicts and alcoholics involved in Synanon. They maintain several houses, each under the direction of a staff drawn from Synanon patients. The former

is the basic commitment of all residents. No member is permitted to coerce another for any reason, either by browbeating, or emotional cruelty, or physical force. The door of the house is always open for those who wish to leave as much as for those who wish to enter. No one is constrained to stay. No one is forced to do anything. The household maintains all its members (provided they stay off narcotics) whether they are co-operative or stubborn, helpful or obstructive, personable or obnoxious. Voluntarism is the single binding force within the community.

At the same time, the daily regimen within each house is quite demanding

It is a kind of miniature town meeting where the distorted and oppressive ambitions of staff members - if they exist - can quickly be exposed and treated as the disease they are.

The "autocratic" aspect of the community - that is, the strictness of discipline - is felt most strongly at the very outset of therapy. It is a basic assumption at Synanon that addicts are, emotionally, children who refuse to grow up. So they are treated like stubborn children: closely supervised in their habits, bossed around, bullied a little. Addicts, so I am told, tend to be negligent and anti-social in the extreme. They will leave light bulbs burning and



There is perhaps no modern city where the sense of community is so dissipated as in Los Angeles. Indeed, it is doubtful that Los Angeles is a city at all in any traditional sense of the word; perhaps the area requires another designation entirely. This sprawling congeries of small towns, beach resorts, housing tracts, and newly spawned suburbs, ponderously stitched together by eight-lane freeways, lacks even the physical integrity of a metropolis. It is an assemblage of people, structures, and diffuse social relations without a cultural centre or political focus, the pattern of which has been dictated by the mechanical capacities of the automobile.

At any one moment of the day, a major portion of the city's population is apt to be car-borne, commuting over distances of 50 or 60 miles from home to place of work to beach to movie theatre to amusement park. Southern Californians spend more time driving past one another than living together. Inhabitants of the several San Fernando Valley suburbs think nothing of driving 90 minutes to offices in the inner city, leaving behind them a housing development whose population has no participant relationship to the life of Los Angeles beyond its dependence upon a distant business for a salary that will be spent in local shopping centres, drive-ins, and bowling alleys.

In reality, Los Angeles, the chaotic product of astronomically rapid and unplanned growth, is a case study in social disorganisation. As an example of urban disintegration it is very nearly a Weberian ideal-type. And as such, it may prefigure the pattern of the mushrooming metropolis of Africa, Asia and Latin America, just as it illustrates *à outrance* the social ills that now afflict the world's older cities.

It is particularly appropriate that a social experiment like Synanon should make its appearance in Los Angeles, where the bonds of community life have grown so hopelessly slack. And, fittingly enough, in this least coherent of cities, it is among the most dislocated of people that the experiment has taken root.

Six years ago, in 1958, Chuck Diederich, himself a former alcoholic, began to apply the therapeutic techniques of Alcoholics Anonymous to narcotics addicts. Very soon it became clear that the addictive personality requires a more comprehensive approach and more intense therapy than AA has developed. Under Diederich's direction, the weekly testimonials of AA were intensified into 90-minute nightly group therapy sessions in which eight or ten former addicts mercilessly assailed one another's psychic defences, first destroying what they knew to be phoney in each mem-

ber's self-image, then trying to build up a more realistic sense of personal value. (It is from these sessions, for which the word "synanon" has been coined, that the experiment as a whole derives its name.)

Secondly, the discontinuous relationship of AA members had to be replaced by a permanent living situation, in which recuperating addicts would remain in constant interaction, relying upon one another's guidance.

Currently, there are 450 former addicts and alcoholics involved in Synanon. They maintain several houses, each under the direction of a staff drawn from Synanon patients. The former addicts have gone off narcotics "cold turkey" - that is, without the use of drugs. When I visited Synanon house in Santa Monica in July (it is the largest of the Synanon establishments, holding 190 people) I was surprised to learn that withdrawal without drugs could be required as a matter of course. Wasn't it an agonising process? I was told that withdrawal pains are often greatly exaggerated by addicts, mainly because the situation in which withdrawal is usually required - in prisons or public hospitals - is unpleasant and impersonal in the extreme. The environment presents no positive incentives for quitting narcotics. But at Synanon, intense personal relations surround the addict. He is introduced to a community of fellow sufferers which wants him and needs him. He lives in the daily presence of people, who by forsaking narcotics, have become happy, productive, and mature human beings. He has every good reason to give up addiction, and he enjoys the example and guidance - usually a stern, parental guidance - of those who have shared his troubled experience.

It is not my purpose here to investigate in any detail the history and therapy of Synanon. Indeed, the therapeutic methods of Synanon are still so pragmatic in character - so much the rules of thumb roughly worked out by addicts themselves - that their full theoretical implications have yet to be developed. (The most thorough study at present available is Daniel Casriel's *So Fair a House*, Prentice-Hall, 1963.) It is rather the politics of Synanon that interests me. For the therapeutic community we have here is an outstanding example of the relevance of anarchist social theory to one of the most baffling dilemmas of contemporary society. And what is most remarkable: none of the organisers or directors of Synanon - as far as I am aware - is a student of anarchism. The community has arisen spontaneously and pragmatically out of the needs and capacities of its members.

Within each Synanon house, non-violence

is the basic commitment of all residents. No member is permitted to coerce another for any reason, either by browbeating, or emotional cruelty, or physical force. The door of the house is always open for those who wish to leave as much as for those who wish to enter. No one is constrained to stay. No one is forced to do anything. The household maintains all its members (provided they stay off narcotics) whether they are co-operative or stubborn, helpful or obstructive, personable or obnoxious. Voluntarism is the single binding force within the community.

At the same time, the daily regimen within each house is quite demanding, especially for the newcomers, who, as part of their therapy, are assigned to the dirtiest work. The Santa Monica house is a very large building with lots of floors and corners and furniture to keep neat, lots of cooking to get done, lots of groceries to get bought, lots of dishes to get washed. How does the work get done without compulsion? The staff at Synanon is very quick to describe its control over each house as an "autocracy": discipline is strictly laid down by those in charge with the full expectation that orders will be carried out.

But the "autocracy" at Synanon is of a peculiar kind. For one thing, the "autocrats," who always enter the community from the bottom and work up, and their subjects are intimate friends, people who know one another as only the members of group therapy sessions can. Whatever animosity might arise between them comes out in the sessions, as a matter of course, and is subject to the group's evaluation. Is anyone being tyrannised or exploited? Are the grudges that arise between members legitimate or unreasonable? The intensively candid scrutiny of the synanon is bound to tell.

Moreover, "autocrats" are easily and frequently replaced. Staff members, since they are further along in their therapy, are expected to "graduate" fairly soon - that is, to leave the community and join the world outside. Thus, no one can entrench himself in a position of responsibility.

Finally, staff members exist only to perform and delegate necessary functions. Discipline is not multiplied beyond necessity. Any one attempting to hold down a position for no better reason than self-gratification is bound to come under the powerful criticism of his synanon, where the false self-image this position supports, like all the other false images he has hidden behind, will be shattered. The synanon, besides being a therapeutic device, has an essential political function within the community.

It is a kind of miniature town meeting where the distorted and oppressive ambitions of staff members - if they exist - can quickly be exposed and treated as the disease they are.

The "autocratic" aspect of the community - that is, the strictness of discipline - is felt most strongly at the very outset of therapy. It is a basic assumption at Synanon that addicts are, emotionally, children who refuse to grow up. So they are treated like stubborn children: closely supervised in their habits, bossed around, bullied a little. Addicts, so I am told, tend to be negligent and anti-social in the extreme. They will leave light bulbs burning and appliances turned on and unattended, drop their clothes on the floor at night, leave their beds unmade, and generally make a mess of themselves and their environment. The community keeps after them constantly. Until they learn better, they will be called down, bawled out, and made to mind.

At the same time, Synanon's naughty children are free to leave whenever they find the treatment they receive too severe. And since the community exists to keep and cure them, its members are careful to temper the discipline of neophytes with TLC ("tender, loving care"). They must be bossed, but lovingly. At this point, then, the authority the community assumes over its newcomers is essentially parental and has, for its strictness, the same functional justification the mature have for taking in hand those who don't know any better.

Once, however, Synanon's therapy has matured the newcomer, he comes to see the reasonableness of the demands made of him. The community matters to him; it is his hope of cure; he strongly wants it to survive for himself and for the others he is bound to. And so he performs the tasks survival requires. Scrubbing floors and cleaning toilets are not pleasant work. But the dirty jobs have to be done; they were once done even by those who give the orders now. And one does the chores voluntarily and with good spirit where the wellbeing of the community depends upon the effort.

By all appearances, Synanon is well on its way to becoming one of the most successful of communitarian experiments. Its members are suffused with a sense of confidence and growth. In Nevada, the state government has helped Synanon to open up a special programme in the prison at Reno, dealing not with addicts but with habitual criminals. Synanon's experiment in penology has yielded notable successes -

continued on page 8

Richard Hoggart and Stuart Hall

local radio

why it must not be commercial

The case against putting local radio into commercial hands is clear-cut. The surprising thing is that it should have to be argued again from scratch. The Pilkington Report pointed to the effects of divided loyalties on the quality of the service provided by commercial television. Many apologies have been offered since, but the main arguments still stand.

At present an appeal is being made to the public on the question of costs. Yet the claim that commercial radio would be "free" is just a play with words. True, the service would be financed from revenue rather than from the licence fee. But advertising has to be paid for. Some advertising - by stimulating sales, and hence production - pays for itself. But some is passed on to the consumer through retail prices, keeping them slightly higher than they would otherwise be. In some cases, the consumer *does* pay. It may be that a service which we pay for directly, by licence, *seems* to cost us something, whereas one which we pay for indirectly seems to be free. But this is an illusion which tells us something about the state of our social thinking, and little about economic reality. Against this, the BBC reckons to be able to establish a nation-wide system of local stations at a cost of not much more than 5s extra per licence (about 1d per head per week). The costs are in any case so marginal that the decision, for or against a commercial system, can't be taken on these grounds alone.

to serve the area, would represent dips in the graphs, and, especially at peak listening times, an implied threat to revenues. The typical approach of a commercial system must be to go straight for the highest figures, and keep them high.

In practice, commercial local stations would be better than this. Pressure of local opinion, fear for "the image," would force the hand of the local station. Some bold station managers might even go in to bat for the audience against his backers. But who can deny that this would be contrary to the logic of the system? The most responsible manager would have to walk the tight-rope between divided loyalties - to audience and to board. Every departure would be against the grain, involving a crippling kind of bargaining (both across the table and in the heart). Why deliberately build one kind of system, and then graft conflicting needs on to it? It seems much more sensible to define what kind of service we want, and then to try for the structure which, typically, serves those ends.

Why, then, is it so difficult to get this argument going on the right lines? Partly because of the many kinds of commercial interests which have suddenly discovered their vocation in the championing of the "local idea" in sound broadcasting. These are of two kinds. There are the vested interests - the companies which produce equipment, those seeking to tap lucrative local

who believe this to be a dangerous way of coming to a decision about this issue sufficiently clarify our minds - and quickly - both as to the purposes we want local radio to serve, and as to the best structure for doing so?

We need local broadcasting now for a number of crucial, but complex, reasons. First, in order to reverse the trend towards centralisation. In spite of the efforts to "regionalise," the media have become very London-oriented: often, the best men have been drawn (London acting like a magnet) from the regions and provincial centres. Voices, accents, experiences, tones of voices have been concentrated into *one* centre, *one* tone: the metropolitan. This has become part of the general drift to the South - an aspect of regional imbalance. There are now culturally neglected areas to match the economically deprived ones. This process has not been altogether a bad one - but it has its costs, and these are now beginning to be felt in all kinds of ways. The first brief, therefore, is that local networks should serve, nourish and restore the individual character, the vigour and native strengths of each area.

This "denaturing" of provincial life is part of a larger problem: the loss to the regions and provincial centres of impact upon a whole range of issues; both the decisions made, and the relevant discussion and controversy which surrounds these issues, and which form the climate of opinion within which de-

ing, that the 'channels of communication' are open. When they are manifestly *not open*, why should anyone learn to speak, think or write fluently?"

Something of a revolution along these lines is already under way in education, especially in primary and junior schools. But so far the principle has been impossible, technically, to apply in radio and television. Local sound broadcasting is the chance. The possible range of people and groups involved, the diversity of types of exchange and debate, could be extensive; especially if the station managers were bold enough to go after the issues where controversy raged, rather than for the exchange of opinions between all-too-familiar "experts" such as a national channel is under obvious pressure to provide.

Third, there would be the range of services. These would include several kinds of news; a diary of events (the garden fete at the church hall at one end, the agenda of the local council at the other); consumer and shopping advice (a service difficult for a station in fee to local advertisers to offer, for much the same reasons that ITV is unlikely to present a programme based on *Which*); traffic and weather information; educational services at all levels, perhaps closely linked with WEA classes, or with the local art or pottery school, or the regional "Tec," or the university (and giving, for the first time, a real opportunity for follow-up classes, discussion face-to-face with tutors and

through retail prices, keeping the slightly higher than they would otherwise be. In some cases, the consumer *does pay*. It may be that a service which we pay for directly, by licence, *seems* to cost us something, whereas one which we pay for indirectly seems to be free. But this is an illusion which tells us something about the state of our social thinking, and little about economic reality. Against this, the BBC reckons to be able to establish a nation-wide system of local stations at a cost of not much more than 5s extra per licence (about 1d per head per week). The costs are in any case so marginal that the decision, for or against a commercial system, can't be taken on these grounds alone.

The real debate is about the nature of public service broadcasting and its relation to social needs. Once we begin to think of the kinds of service we want, we can see how absurd it would be to base it upon advertising revenue. A local commercial network would have of necessity to serve its commercial masters. The local station would have to devise programmes which drew and held the largest possible audience for as much broadcasting time as possible. It is not difficult to imagine what kinds of programmes these would be - Radio Caroline has already given us more than a hint. Pop music and light classics inevitably command a high audience rating, especially in the age of the car radio and the transistor. The quality of attention to background music is usually poor, but such programmes are sound-investment lowest-common-denominator programmes. The BBC itself intends to extend its service in this direction, now that the "needle time" problem is being solved. And it is certainly one of the kinds of broadcasting which is best provided on a national scale. But there is the strongest of arguments against pop music - or indeed any one kind of programme - *all the time*.

In the "ideal" commercial case, disc-jockey programmes alone, with regular "natural breaks," would keep the graphs consistently high, advertisers happy and the station prosperous. But programmes which catered for minority audiences - even substantial minorities - or which deliberately broke the pattern in order

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Stuart Hall is the Research Fellow at the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Birmingham University.

are now culturally neglected areas that match the economically deprived ones. This process has not been altogether a bad one - but it has its costs, and these are now beginning to be felt in all kinds of ways. The first brief, therefore, is that local networks should serve, nourish and restore the individual character, the vigour and native strengths of each area.

Why, then, is it so difficult to get this argument going on the right lines? Partly because of the many kinds of commercial interests which have suddenly discovered their vocation in the championing of the "local idea" in sound broadcasting. These are of two kinds. There are the vested interests - the companies which produce equipment, those seeking to tap lucrative local markets, those who want to sponsor local stations, and the "respectable" lobbies, like the National Broadcasting Development Council. Then there are the mavericks and the wide boys, free-booting entrepreneurs of the publicity and agency game. The vested interest lobbies we know of old - they are a version of the pressure group which successfully pioneered commercial television. The "pirates" are a manifestation of another kind of commercial spirit. We needn't look for any collusion between them - the two tactics play neatly into one another.

This is only half the story. For these interests now work upon a government, nervous about making the wrong kind of pre-election move, and apparently split down the middle on this question. Hence, on one side, the Postmaster-General's hesitancy when confronting the pirates - a delay which might well have the effect of ceding the whole case to Caroline by allowing them to establish *de facto* possession of wavelengths throughout the summer. On the other side, there are Iain Macleod, Selwyn Lloyd and others, either in the Cabinet or near the centres of power in the Conservative Party, some of whom (as Macleod quite freely admitted in the *Spectator*, May 29, 1964), helped to pioneer commercial television, and are now "intent on doing them (the BBC) one more service." This group seems to be determined to use commercial radio as an issue of principle. As the *Spectator's* Political Correspondent observed (in the same issue quoted above), "The real prospects lie not in the radio lobby but in a shift in the climate of opinion in the Cabinet and the Commons . . . the search, among Tories, for policies which can display, without undue electoral disadvantage, the true Conservative virtues of free enterprise."

So, for the moment, the debate is both loaded and masked. Can those of us

are now culturally neglected areas that match the economically deprived ones. This process has not been altogether a bad one - but it has its costs, and these are now beginning to be felt in all kinds of ways. The first brief, therefore, is that local networks should serve, nourish and restore the individual character, the vigour and native strengths of each area.

This "denaturing" of provincial life is part of a larger problem: the loss to the regions and provincial centres of impact upon a whole range of issues; both the decisions made, and the relevant discussion and controversy which surrounds these issues, and which form the climate of opinion within which decisions are taken, have been increasingly centralised. This is why so many people feel their remoteness from the centres of power and influence, cut off from the democratic process.

If the planning of resources is to be set within a human context, and reflect the real needs which arise locally, then democracy needs to be quickened at the roots. Much of the recent literature in, for example, the field of urban renewal and town planning, points this way. People will only feel their effectiveness in relation to such issues as urban renewal, the housing and property squeeze, transport or hospital or educational or welfare services, community amenities, if their voices can be heard. The local station, then, should act as a forum for the voices of its area - a forum as free from pressure of any kind, whether Establishment-paternal, commercial or local government, as can be devised.

Second, the local service should attempt to make the relationship between audience and media a more equal one. National systems - or regional ones, whether of the BBC or ITA pattern - are inevitably impersonal structures. They cannot build upon an intimate knowledge of the character and history of each region (a different matter, incidentally, from a contrived folksy "regional" bonhomie), because the regions are too large. They cannot provide a channel for smaller groups in the community because the audiences they serve are too diverse. But local radio, with its limited radius, is ideally suited for just such a purpose. These channels of communication should be more widely available - for people to speak, as well as be spoken to.

As Miss Rachel Powell said recently in a contribution to the debate, "Anybody who, like myself, has taught English, will recognise that skill and confidence in expression grow directly in proportion to the confidence that somebody is listen-

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Here the interplay between the local station and an educated and informed community audience would be possible for the first time - the scale is right at last, and the quality of life is there to be expressed. And the local station should seek to express this life as directly as possible, not to "package" issues and "present" people too rigidly.

Fourth, there is the relationship between the studio and the creative life of the area. There are men and women - playwrights, poets, novelists, journalists - who nourish our culture nationally. In recent years such people have come in increasing numbers from regions and provincial centres outside the metropolitan hub - Nottingham or Bradford or Salford have contributed more (themes as well as writers) than London itself. Yet inevitably Delaney, Braine, Sillitoe, Storey, Waterhouse, Willis Hall, Stan Barstow and others get to be known nationally first, before - if ever - being known locally. They are "prophets, save in their own country": though their very capacities to sustain their art may well depend upon these local roots being maintained and deepened. Why not *Roots* from Radio Norfolk, or *Taste Of Honey* on Radio Salford, or a draft chapter from *Sporting Life* from Radio Halifax, or the adaptation of *Long Distance Runner* from a Nottingham youth club, first?

And behind such names lies a wealth of talent in the creative arts - young



Pop singer Susan Maughan. Do we want the nonstop pop music of commercial radio or a mixture of programmes?

mercial structure. The question is whether the BBC could or would be the best alternative.

The BBC pilot projects on local sound provided the Corporation with a good deal of first-hand evidence. They were often very lively - and miles ahead of the commercially planned programming. But doubts still remain (and the BBC itself should take them most seriously of all). These can be grouped under three headings. First, the fear that the local services will not be sufficiently distinct from the regional and national services. Second, there are doubts about the BBC's general tone in broadcasting - its paternalism, its enclosed highly-professionalised massiveness, its tendency to gravitate towards the orthodox and the official. Third, there is the fear that, under a BBC umbrella, local stations might be saved from commercial interests, only to find themselves in the hands of vested local interests - even those with the best of intentions, like the council, or representatives from worthy but probably not sufficiently flexible voluntary organisations.

There is something to each of these fears. In their recent statements, the BBC have gone a good way to satisfy doubts on the first count. The second and third counts are more difficult - especially because there are very real questions about freedom and objectivity which have to be faced (by critics of the BBC, as well as by the Corporation itself). None of the arguments outweigh the obvious advantages of constituting a local broadcasting service under the auspices of the BBC. The provision of studios and standard equipment, and of trained technical and production men, had best come from one place. The BBC can ensure a high calibre, whereas the local stations might do badly if left to their own resources. (Even here, though, the BBC has something to watch out for - it must draw more widely from outside the charmed Oxbridge circle for its personnel than it does at present.)

The more important argument is that some safeguards must be built in against the mis-use of station freedom. In this respect, the experienced national authority of the BBC is more likely to interpret "editorial objectivity" flexibly, than other alternatives - a standing body of the local council, for example, or a government agency.

But if the BBC is to "hold the ring,"

then the key to the situation will be the degree of freedom allowed to the station manager and his team. These can't be "career men," who often (not always) regard a spell in the regions like an inevitable kind of temporary banishment. They will have to be men who believe in the local idea and mean to serve it. And they must be given the freedom to do so. They should be able to call on advice from every quarter, not simply rely upon advisory committees; and they mustn't be corralled from inside by a BBC "inner net." This freedom is the condition for their discovering what really makes their area tick, what is alive and what moves in it. Their brief should be to go out and draw that life into the studio. They will need to promote - rather than steer around - controversy. They must use the installations as a set of technical and production facilities for giving voice to the region: the station will be an open-ended forum.

This will mean that the station manager will have to know his area from the inside - for only in this way can he defend the difficult decisions which his ranging brief will inevitably lead him to make. He will have to run the gauntlet, from either end: local council and Portland Place. But the job will carry its own rewards. He will, of course, be subject to recall - this is the corollary of his freedom. But, within these limits, he will be what broadcasting now needs most (in an area where formal democracy is technically impossible): the freest of public servants.

What, then, would be the actual link between the station managers and Broadcasting House? The most obvious way would be to set up a new controllership, alongside the Home, Light and Third, to look after the local stations. The danger here is that local broadcasting would become the fourth wheel to the existing tricycle.

It would be far better to constitute a national broadcasting unit, within the BBC framework, but distinct from the existing pattern, which would act as a servicing and stimulating centre for the 100 or so stations, but sufficiently independent to develop its own tone. It would co-ordinate and channel through all the technical and servicing needs of the local stations, but it would speak with strength and independence on behalf of its station commanders to Portland Place: a kind of standing con-

painters and poets who may never find a national audience but who may serve a local one well; the amateur musical and dramatic groups; the "undiscovered" pop groups in Liverpool, or the folk club circuit in Birmingham or the jazz cellars in Hull. In each case, the mixture of kinds of radio should be different, a real reflection of the character of the area. In each case there would be a balance between well-known people who

made use of radio as a medium for speaking to those who are likely to know the terms and conditions of their work best; and those for whom the station would be an amateur dramatic and musical centre in the best sense - the place where whatever was best in the region could count on a hearing. None of these kinds of service - there are many others - are likely to be widely and consistently offered within a com-

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What we have attempted is, in part, a definition of the temper of local broadcasting: and temper is one of those indefinable qualities it is impossible to legislate for. But we can take certain steps in that direction. Certain structures favour one kind of tone - others run directly counter to it. We can make sure we get the appropriate framework. And then, institutions respond to and reflect changes in climate and mood, if these can be sufficiently sharply identified.

In some way, the BBC has already begun to respond. Its "declaration of freedom to reflect the full spread of opinion" at the time of Suez now seems, in retrospect, to have been something of a turning point. And since then there have been some breakthroughs in broadcasting which certainly provide a basis within Corporation traditions for a more flexible interpretation of its brief. There are wider needs, now, a more distinct trend in society towards the traditions of open debate, and young men and women with the temper to serve it well. It is in this context that the BBC, and those in the community now concerned to extend and deepen democratic ways of life, should begin to think and plan for local broadcasting.

"Prophets, save in their own country." Although their work is focused locally, artists like Alan Sillitoe become known nationally rather than locally. This is a scene from the film of Alan Sillitoe's Nottingham story, "Saturday Night and Sunday Morning," distributed by Bryanston, British Lion, through BLC.



Geoffrey Carnall

The military in new countries: umpire or oligarch?

In practically every country of the world, the military establishment takes a large slice out of the national income, and exerts a considerable influence on the conduct of affairs. In some states, military groups openly control the machinery of government. When a courageous man like President Olympio of Togo refuses to spend money on an army, he is in for serious trouble. (Olympio was assassinated.)

Not that this is any matter for surprise, given the extremely unstable and turbulent conditions in which the ex-colonial countries have come to independence. Military power is the plainest assertion of sovereignty available. It may not be strictly rational for India to spend a quarter and Pakistan a half of its budget on military appropriations mainly directed against each other. But mutual suspicion will not allow any reduction in this symbol of national determination not to be kicked around.

The African states south of the Sahara spend much less on their armies than the countries of the Middle East and Asia, but there is plenty of sentiment to push them in the same direction. I remember, at the time of the first French nuclear test in the Sahara, a Nigerian student saying to me, "If we had nuclear weapons, they wouldn't dare do this." The possession of a Nigerian nuclear deterrent would, in his view, have compelled the French to treat West Africans as equals, and not as part of France's backyard.

Another element in the appeal of military organisation is the sheer sense of

power produced by identifying with disciplined bodies of men - people who are not hampered by the contradictory and corrupting loyalties of particular groups within the nation. This emerges clearly in *Black Power*, an exceptionally interesting book about Ghana just before independence, written by the American Negro novelist Richard Wright.* He came to the conclusion that the surest way to bring Africa out of her fetish-ridden past, and abolish the "mystical and nonsensical family relations that freeze the African in his static degradation," was to militarise the life of the people. He tried to differentiate this from military dictatorship: he was speaking of giving form, organisation, direction, meaning, and a sense of purpose.

"I'm speaking of a temporary discipline that will unite the nation, sweep out the tribal cobwebs, and place the feet of the masses upon a basis of reality. I'm not speaking of guns or secret police; I'm speaking of a method of taking people from one order of life and making them face what men, all men everywhere, must face."

I have come across similar attitudes in India, where there is a deeply-felt need for "discipline," often associated with the beneficial effects of military training.

In thinking about the strategy of disarmament, it is important to understand the profound attraction exercised by military values. Morris Janowitz's new book, *The Military in the Development*

*Dennis Dobson, 25s.

of New Nations,** is welcome because it does throw some light on this subject. His aim is to point out common features in the internal organisation of armies in Asian and African countries, and to examine the various forms of relationship that exist between army and society: in particular, the problems that arise when an army takes over political administration.

"The military profession," he remarks quaintly, "operates in an organisational environment that has limited contact with outside clients."

He examines the various ways in which military régimes have attempted to make contact with their clients and develop political institutions. He finds in the Turkey of Ataturk a relatively admirable model for controlled and restricted intervention, where the military acts as an umpire rather than an oligarchy.

It is all quite interesting so far as it goes, but one would have liked more examination of the effect which such régimes have on the conduct of foreign policy. The most suggestive pages of the book are those which show how armies tend to be recruited from areas away from the centres of political and commercial life. This does not mean that officers will be hostile to modernisation. On the contrary, they probably joined the army as a way of gaining access to centres of power which would otherwise have been denied them. But it does mean that they will tend to feel at odds with the representatives of politics and commerce, to be "critical of sophisticated upper-class urban values, which it comes to consider as corrupt and even decadent."

They tend to be puritanical in outlook,

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and hostile towards politicians and organised political groups. Politicians are apt to exploit and increase particularist and communal differences; the organisation of the army usually inhibits such differences, and encourages a sense of a unified national interest over against other competing nations.

The crucial positive achievement of an army is, in fact, often the development of a national consciousness transcending that of the particular communities within the nation. There is no reason why this should not be done by institutions other than the army, and presumably something of the sort is in Kenneth Kaunda's mind in his plan for a training centre for non-violence in Northern Rhodesia.

According to *Quaker Service* (the bulletin of the American Friends' Service Committee), the main aim of the centre will be to train people in techniques of non-violence, including the police.

"It is judged important that police trainees be schooled in methods of handling non-violent demonstrations, and be familiar with non-violent techniques in their regular duties. . . . Village workers will encounter conflicts of many sorts, including inter-tribal conflicts. It is thought that the basics of non-violence would be very helpful in their orientation."

A good deal depends on the success of such experiments in developing non-violent institutions of government. If they become peripheral, as Gandhian institutions in India have tended to be - at best a supplement to the real business of running the country - then we are faced with a world increasingly dominated by military élites. It is hardly the most promising path towards a world without war.

SYNANON from page 5

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as has its expanding work with neurotics. Indeed, in the light of Synanon's work, a new and broader conception of the addictive personality is emerging, one which embraces the narcotics problem, criminality, alcoholism, and neurosis generally. It would seem that all these are inadequate efforts of human beings to meet a deeper and insatiable need. And what can that need be but the need of a beloved community within which one can take his place as a participating member? When the theory of Synanon's therapeutic experimentation is finally developed, it will doubtless draw strongly upon the personalist philosophy of figures like Martin Buber.

Currently Synanon is searching for ways to support its own growth independently of outside contributions. For the past six years Synanon's support has come almost wholly from charitable sources, including many businesses. Surprisingly, the community found a great deal of sympathy on the part of

businessmen; even local merchants in well-to-do Santa Monica have grown reconciled to having several racially integrated households of former narcotics addicts encamped in their town. Last year Synanon raised some \$3 million in kind and \$250,000 in cash to maintain its 400 or more patients. Now the community has begun to develop its own economic base. It has opened up a machine shop and a filling station as the first steps toward greater autonomy.

The success of Synanon raises an interesting point. Here, as in the case of Anton Wallich-Clifford's Simon Community of ex-convicts in London, we have a communitarian experiment arising among the most derelict members of contemporary society, those whom the modern world in all its affluence and technological splendour has failed most wretchedly. Much of our society finds itself too hopelessly distracted by the rapid pace and excessive complexity of our times to recognise with any precision what its true condition is, what the needs and capacities of men are. And, in turn, it is our nearly universal confusion on these points that completes the circle and contributes to the technological impaction, the surplus production, the compulsive consumption, the power-political acquisitiveness of our society. It is the misfits and failures in our midst - the drunks, the junkies, the jail-birds - who represent the break in this beautifully rationalised circle of vicious ambitions. They have been crudely culled out and left behind.

But those who have hit "rock-bottom," who have failed to fabricate a personality that can adjust successfully to the unhealthy conventions that dominate our times, are perhaps those who are closest to a new vision of personal and social life. They can least easily escape facing themselves and examining their needs. To use Nietzsche's phrase, theirs may be a disease in the same sense that pregnancy is a disease. With proper guidance, the personal crisis of the outcast may provide the possibility of communitarian building and social renewal.

away from the centres of political and commercial life. This does not mean that officers will be hostile to modernisation. On the contrary, they probably joined the army as a way of gaining access to centres of power which would otherwise have been denied them. But it does mean that they will tend to feel at odds with the representatives of politics and commerce, to be "critical of sophisticated upper-class urban values, which it comes to consider as corrupt and even decadent."

They tend to be puritanical in outlook,

**University of Chicago Press, 33s 6d.

Village workers will encounter conflicts of many sorts, including inter-tribal conflicts. It is thought that the basics of non-violence would be very helpful in their orientation."

A good deal depends on the success of such experiments in developing non-violent institutions of government. If they become peripheral, as Gandhian institutions in India have tended to be - at best a supplement to the real business of running the country - then we are faced with a world increasingly dominated by military élites. It is hardly the most promising path towards a world without war.

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Asian zig-zags

Communist Strategies in Asia, edited by A. Doak Barnett. (Pall Mall Press, cloth 50s; paper 17s 6d.)

A comparative analysis of governments and parties, with articles by Donald S. Zagoria, Robert C. North, Paul F. Langer, Harry Gelman, Ruth T. McVey, Bernard B. Fall, Glenn D. Paige, and Robert A. Rupen.

The plural in the title is deliberate, as this book points out the diversity of communist strategies in the Asian countries. As Barnett writes in the introduction, "growing 'polycentrism' is already resulting, in Asia as elsewhere, in increased differentiation of viewpoints and policies, substantial diffusion of lines of authority and influence, and decreased unity and co-ordination in the Communist world." The accounts of communist zig-zags in North Vietnam and North Korea provide an interesting contrast with the more open way in which China became communist.



The rebel president of the Congo, Gaston Soumialot (in car), with his vice-president, Laurent Kabila, at Albertville on July 26.

Congo rebels sweep on

The Congolese Prime Minister, Moise Tshombe, has conceded "in private conversations" the gravity of the situation in the Congo and agreed that the revolts must be put down by military means, a report by J. Anthony Lukas stated in *The Sunday Times* last Sunday.

On August 5 Stanleyville was seized by the rebels of Gaston Soumialot, and the rebellion which has been sweeping through the Eastern Congo now covers an area about 550 miles long and between 50 and 300 miles wide. The ease with which the rebels have moved is not a reflection of their own fighting abilities, the *Sunday Times* report continues. They are not an army at all, but a loose agglomeration of tribal bands, often armed only with machetes, spears and wooden clubs. They are led chiefly by witch doctors. In the past few weeks they have proved almost invulnerable. Their success is due largely to the ineptitude of the Congolese Army.

The Army's failure to deal effectively with the revolt was the major factor behind the formation of Moise Tshombe's "reconciliation" Government last month.

It was hoped that Tshombe would be able to negotiate an end to the revolts. While in exile in Spain, Tshombe made contact with the leaders of the National Liberation Committee (CNL), the group of left-wing exiles who have been supporting and partially guiding the revolts in Kwilu, Kivu, Mamiema and North Katanga. When he formed the "reconciliation" Government Tshombe included one of the CNL leaders, Andre Lubaya, as his Minister of Health. He also released Antoine Gizenga, the Leftist leader, whose release had long been one of CNL's prime demands. When Gizenga pledged his support to the Government hopes rose that Tshombe might be able to negotiate his way out of the trouble.

Since then, however, the reconciliation talks have got nowhere. Christophe Gbenye, one of the chief CNL leaders in Brazzaville, has attacked Lubaya as a "traitor" for dealing with Tshombe. This sentiment has been echoed by Soumialot, who is CNL leader in the east.

Feeling has been growing that the only solution would be some form of outside military intervention. Last Monday, however, in a report in the *New York Times*, Lukas writes that Tshombe said on August 9 that his Government would not appeal for foreign troops to help put down the spreading wave of rebellion.

He said at a news conference: "We have no need for troops from outside. We have plenty of our own soldiers who can handle the situation. All we need is equipment."

The United States, among others, is known to feel that the Congolese Army is incapable of putting down the revolts alone. It believes additional equipment would be wasted unless some foreign troops are brought in.

Guantanamo peace walkers will defy US ban on travel to Cuba

The Quebec-Washington-Guantanamo peace walkers, who have been waiting for months for a decision by the State Department on their applications for passports valid for travel to Cuba, have decided to proceed illegally.

In an appeal for support published on July 23, A. J. Muste, chairman of the American Committee for Non-Violent Action, said that the group has

numbered as many as fifty full-time participants, consisted of twenty members when it reached Miami. Ten of these continued with the project during its hold-up in Miami. Six former long-term walkers are at present serving federal sentences in connection with their opposition to the draft.

While in Miami, waiting on the State Department's decision the group has

may be incurred. Ordinarily, in past actions of this kind, CNVA has voluntarily given authorities fairly specific information as to the exact time and place of an action. After serious and prolonged consideration we hold that the Government has no right to demand such information to enforce a travel ban. We have, therefore, decided not to provide government officials with such

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The walkers are calling for an end to counter-revolutionary violence and asking both Cuba and the United States to work out peaceful, non-violent means of resolving their conflict.

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bered as many as fifty full-time participants, consisted of twenty members when it reached Miami. Ten of these continued with the project during its hold-up in Miami. Six former long-term walkers are at present serving federal sentences in connection with their opposition to the draft.

While in Miami, waiting on the State Department's decision, the group has conducted a non-violent workshop, carried on lengthy discussions with generally hostile Cuban exiles, demonstrated at Key West, and stimulated the formation of a Miami branch of the Committee for Non-Violent Action.

A. J. Muste has sent a letter to Secretary of State Dean Rusk, telling him that preparations are under way to get a group of the peace walkers to Cuba to complete the Havana to Guantanamo portion of the walk. He writes:

"We are aware that this may involve civil disobedience and that penalties

may be incurred. Ordinarily, in past actions of this kind, CNVA has voluntarily given authorities fairly specific information as to the exact time and place of an action. After serious and prolonged consideration we hold that the Government has no right to demand such information to enforce a travel ban. We have, therefore, decided not to provide government officials with such information. We are in conscience bound to refuse such information as a protest against the folly and wickedness of the travel ban in general and the ban against travel to Cuba in particular. It is a sign also of our protest against the general policy of the United States towards Cuba which we believe is mistaken, shortsighted, and not conducive to peace... Finally, the peace walkers would prefer to go to Cuba with the approval of the State Department. They do not regard lightly violation of government regulations..."

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Mr Tshombe repeated his charges that both Burundi and the former French Congo, which border the Congo on the east and west, are aiding the rebels.

He denied what he called "false reports" of trouble in Luluabourg, the major city in the Kasai region. Diplomatic sources in Leopoldville have reported rebel activity near Lodja and Kabinda, both less than 200 miles from Luluabourg.

Mr Tshombe also reported advances by Congolese troops in East Katanga and North Katanga provinces.

West Germany: Admiral Heye under attack

David Childs writes: It was only to be expected that when Admiral Heye, the West German forces ombudsman or *Wehrbeauftragter*, denounced the old reactionary spirit in the Bundeswehr he would be attacked. Naturally it would have been very difficult to try and claim he is a traitor or a pacifist, for the Admiral fought hard for Hitler in the last war. The Admiral's detractors have, therefore, tried other tactics. They claimed he had overstepped the mark

by publishing his criticisms in a popular illustrated. This attack failed. Now they have produced a controversy within a controversy by hinting that he is "overtired," too old and "no longer quite responsible for his utterances."

The mouthpiece for these attacks is Dr Maria Pannhoff, a Christian Democratic MP and psychiatrist. At a Bundeswehr "open day" in Alt-Ahlen, Frau Pannhoff claimed that her erstwhile parliamentary colleague was "beyond it." She claimed she had often observed the Admiral in parliament and had long ago formed this expert opinion. In *Der Spiegel* (July 29, 1964) the Admiral replied that he was used to such attacks. In fact, a similar attack had saved him during the war. He had refused to carry out an order and his superiors, somewhat embarrassed, had said his mental powers were degenerating.

New proof, if it were needed, that all is not well in the Bundeswehr was given by the death of a 20-year-old para conscript, Anton Deigl (*Peace News*, August 7). Deigl reported for duty on July 1 and was dead by July 17. Like his comrade Trimborn last year, Deigl died after collapsing during a training march. On July 25 the East German *Neues*

Deutschland printed statements attributed to a West German NCO-instructor, Wilfried Lüsebrink, who, the paper says, defected to the East recently. The paper's account has an authoritative ring about it. The NCO is quoted as saying, for instance, that on the wall of his lieutenant's room hung a slogan to the effect that only lieutenants and above were human. Anyone entering the room had first to read this aloud.

Just how dangerous the West German officer class could be is shown by an unchallenged article in the West German neutralist paper, *Deutsche Volkszeitung* (July 31). The paper quotes Paul Wilhelm Wenger of the Conservative *Rheinischer Merkur* as saying that the then Commander of the Bundeswehr, Heusinger, had urged the US to use military force to smash the Berlin Wall immediately after its erection.

West German industry too needs its Admiral Heye. Concentration is continuing as of old. According to the *Economist* (August 1): "In 1954 fifty concerns accounted for 17.7% of West German industrial turnover. In 1960 the share of the top fifty had risen to 22.8%." That this power may once again be being used for the wrong pur-

poses was shown by an alarming report in the *Jewish Chronicle* (July 24) in turn based on a report published in the *Frankfurter Rundschau*. The article said that 91 German firms, including some of the largest industrial enterprises in the country, were supplying arms to Egypt. Whatever one may think of President Nasser it bodes ill for the future if German firms should feel it necessary to get in on this sort of trade.

Finally, a word about two Nazis who have made a comeback. One is the well-known Nazi film director, Leni Riefenstahl. In Bremen, a film festival lasting a week was devoted to her films glorifying Nazism. She has also been invited to take part in this year's Berlin film festival. An article in *Die Zeit* (July 24) condemns this and points out that in socialist-controlled Bremen, the only people to protest were some teenagers who were promptly arrested for causing a disturbance. The other Nazi, Dr Theodor Maunz, made his comeback long ago. Until very recently this Nazi legal theorist was a minister in Bavaria. Only a hard fight has forced him out of office but he is still a professor at Munich university.

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Tom McGrath

POETRY FROM JAPAN

The Penguin Book of Japanese Verse. Translated with an introduction by Geoffrey Bownas and Anthony Thwaite. 7s 6d.

This is one of the most complete collections of Japanese verse I have seen. Every poet of any importance is included, together with anonymous poetry and folk poetry previously difficult to obtain in translation. The introduction by Anthony Thwaite and Geoffrey Bownas carefully relates the history and development of Japanese verse, and the part poetry plays in the social life of the Japanese people is graphically described. The book is both a complete collection and a readers' guide. Yet I found it depressed me.

I feel that the very nature of Japanese verse precludes it from ever being successfully presented in a collection of this size and scope. The poems are crammed together, one crowding on top of another. Instead of the evocative space that surrounded the Japanese poems so sensitively translated by Kenneth Rexroth when the craze for Japanese poetry was in its early stages, we find the slender *haiku* grouped so close together that they appear as one long poem:

*Sad and forlorn : the shrike
Bears on its back
The gold of the sunset.*

*Sticking out my head from
The hot hell of the mosquito net -
Autumn wind.*

*Autumn wind -
I open out
My ashen palm.*

Japanese poetry just cannot be appreciated if read in this way. Each poem should be a separate entity, offering most to the reader when he is prepared to view it in its separateness. Each poem takes a place in silence and depends on the silence surrounding it as much as the sounds of words for its effect.

The first poem quoted above finishes on the word "sunset" and leaves the reader to the silence that follows. At this moment the Japanese poem makes its communication; where the poem's words end and the reader's thoughts begin. To fill this moment with anything other than silence is to reveal a basic misunderstanding of the nature of the Japanese poem.

Of course the Japanese do create "linked verse" in which several short poems are presented together in a loosely-connected sequence. But even in these silence is all-important, both when the poem is spoken and when it is written down. On the page, space is the equivalent of silence. The Japanese poets take care that their characters are well spaced out so that the poems, though they may be linked, do not intrude on one another.

This criticism may sound hair-splitting and precious, but I feel it is a fundamental one. In one sense Penguin books have done everyone a great service by allowing Geoffrey Bownas and Anthony Thwaite to bring so complete a collection together at such a relatively low price. But in another, more important, sense they have done us a great disservice by imposing the format of Penguin Books on the subtle forms of Japanese verse.

When reading through the book, I was reminded of an exhibition of Paul Klee I saw last year in Glasgow. So many paintings were crammed together on the walls that a friend remarked: "The trouble is you can't see Klee for the Klees." In the Penguin book the poem is obscured by the Japanese verse. The important relationship, between the poem and its immediate environment, the printed page, has been completely missed.

A final criticism: why does the book appear without illustrations? Surely the Penguin format could have for once been abandoned in order to show the importance of the graphic arts in Japanese verse? A few of Sengai's picture poems, carefully placed, might have made the collection appear less "square."



A poem-drawing by Sengai, one of the most accomplished of Japanese Zen creators. (Reprinted from "The World of Zen," published by Collins.)

Edward Owen

NUCLEAR WARNINGS

Autumn wind -
I open out
My ashen palm.

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NUCLEAR WARNINGS

Nuclear Disaster, by Tom Stonier. Foreword by Robert Jungk. (Penguin Books, 4s.)

British Defence Policy and Nuclear War, by Emanuel J. de Kadt. (Frank Cass, 21s.)

The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Atomic Radiation, by Margot Bennett. (Penguin Books, 3s 6d.)

Though Hiroshima Day is a reminder, there is fortunately no current Cuba-like crisis* to foment anxiety about the bomb. Nevertheless, we ought to go on worrying, because the underlying crisis is a continuing one - the crisis of human attitudes not yet adjusted to the suicidal destructiveness of nuclear weapons. In order to make this adjustment, we need to be repeatedly and vividly reminded of the dire consequences of not doing so (inevitably, this is "playing on fear" to some extent, but it is also playing on intelligence, concern for others, etc.).

Here are three books to do this necessary if unpopular job of making us worry. The first depicts the catastrophic results for America of being involved in a nuclear exchange; the second demonstrates how futile as well as dangerous it is for this country to brandish an "independent deterrent"; and the third explains, especially to mothers and potential mothers, how harmful it will be to all of us if the bomb is so much as tested in the open again. They are all serious, well-documented books, and nuclear disarmers should obtain the two Penguins for reference if nothing else.

Tom Stonier, an American biologist, has

*This review was written before the Cyprus and Vietnam crises.

produced in *Nuclear Disaster* a little masterpiece of "Doomsday" literature - painstakingly thorough, soberly but imaginatively presented. His study is particularly revealing in regard to the long-term ecological effects of H-Bomb war.

"Until fairly recently," he points out, "public discussions dealing with fallout were concerned almost solely with the potential effects on man. This emphasis is not only egocentric, it is naive. For if fallout is capable of killing human beings, it is also capable of killing other creatures, and it is well known that even small changes in nature can lead to a concentration of events which may ultimately profoundly alter the relationship between man and his environment."

Among the phenomena he envisages are insect plagues, the destruction of forests and plant cover by irradiation, fire, disease and insect attack, the creation of new dust bowls and deserts, and the cooling-down of the world's climate. Such considerations convince him that certain much-quoted estimates of America's "recovery potential" are altogether too sanguine. "If in their novels Aldous Huxley and Walter Miller have painted extreme pictures of the aftermath of nuclear war, they are no more extreme than some of the so-called objective analysts who believe that a return to pre-war society could be achieved within about a decade."

Because nations cannot accept the fact that destructive capacity such as Stonier describes means the end of war as an instrument of policy, statesmen and their military advisers continue the search for strategies that will make sense of the bomb. In *British Defence Policy and*

Nuclear War, de Kadt, a Dutch sociologist working in London, traces the development of Western (i.e. American) defence thinking from Dulles's "massive retaliation" through McNamara's doctrine of "counterforce" (nuclear weapons to be used primarily on military targets) to recent theories of "limited strategic war," of which he says: "One can hardly conclude that this latest attempt at formulating a nuclear strategy has been a success . . . The uncertainties remain, with their possibly disastrous consequences."

A similar analysis of this country's defence policy brings him to the conclusion that "the British nuclear force, as it exists today, deters in fact only the most unlikely of all possible threats" and represents an unjustifiable additional nuclear risk. Nevertheless, he recognises that there is still the instinctive military objection to giving up nuclear weapons at a time when other countries are working to get them. To this he replies: "However absurd it may seem to abandon nuclear weapons now, it seems even more absurd to opt for an increasingly dangerous world, a world bristling with big and little deterrents, a world in which everybody must be suspicious of everybody else."

De Kadt then considers what the effects might be if Britain's present policy brought on us a nuclear attack. He criticises Civil Defence literature for underplaying these effects, failing to present an overall picture, giving impracticable advice and making misleading statements (e.g. about the degree of protection against fall-out radiation afforded by the average household's "refuge room"). In a revealing study of the likely reactions of people under nuclear attack, he shows that existing Civil Defence plans "completely disregard . . . well-established facts about human behaviour in extreme situations."

Civil Defence booklets are also taken to task for failing to give any indication

of the nature and size of the supposed attack - a criticism that de Kadt levels, too, at CND literature, which he says has been "increasingly serious and well-informed." He describes the *Peace News* "Black Paper on H-Bomb War" as "on the whole an excellent critique of Civil Defence thinking," but again finds it too vague about the type of attack envisaged.

He himself would expect, in the sort of situation most likely to provoke nuclear assault on Britain, a retaliatory attack on the main population centres of England and Wales of between 50 and 60 megatons - air-burst to cause the widest possible damage and therefore producing little fall-out.

"Even without fall-out the consequences are staggering," he writes. "Such a strike would not leave the entire country a radioactive rubble-heap, but it would do immense damage. The toll in lives may be gauged from the fact that the population of the areas listed . . . totals more than 20 million. No more than a dozen IRBMs and four ICBMs would have to be used."

After so much discussion of war, Margot Bennett's "first reader in the most uncomfortable subject in the world," as the publishers call it, seems comparatively unalarming, but it is another kind of warning, written to help create an informed and alert public opinion about bomb tests and radiation hazards. This it should certainly do, for she succeeds in conveying in clear and readable form all the essential information about nuclear energy, genetic processes and radiation effects.

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Bayard Rustin

Non-violence and the Harlem riots

Bayard Rustin has been too busy to reply to Robert Calese's criticism (Peace News, August 7) of the non-violent civil rights leaders in Harlem; but we reprint here a comment on the Harlem riots which Bayard Rustin wrote for the War Resisters League News. A reply to Robert Calese by Jim Peck, Publicity Director of the WRL, is also printed here.

From dusk till dawn for four nights during the tragic event called the Harlem riot, I walked the streets with a team of 75 boys and men. We took the injured to CORE's first aid station or to the hospital. We dispersed crowds. We did what we could to protect women and children and had some minor success in urging police who had arrested innocent people to free them - especially when doing so contributed to crowd dispersal.

The experiences of those four terrible nights has deepened my faith in non-violence and I should like to share with you some of my thoughts ten days later.

We pacifists maintain that the law of ends and means does, in fact, operate. Never was this more clearly illustrated. Most of the people who engaged in disorder were youths between 18 and 25. They are the unemployed, the forgotten, the poorest of the poor - without hope and with no faith in a society which has doomed them to utter despair. It is they who are forced to live by their wits, seeking out a living by gambling, selling numbers or dope and sometimes selling themselves.

They revolted in the only way left to them. They would make society listen. Like a child in an attention-seeking tantrum, they resorted to violence in a loud outcry of despair.

We pacifists claim that social progress must spring from social justice. In

their ugly way, these youths were expressing what we, by non-violent resistance, believe. If society will not remove the slums and give them work and dignity, they will cry out again.

We pacifists assert that violence degrades all who become involved in it. How true! I know many police officers in Harlem by name and many more by sight and reputation. One of the saddest aspects of those nights was the fact that many police officers who are among the better-behaved, reacted with the greatest fear and consequently with the most brutal conduct. I saw a white officer, who had once turned over to me a 15-year-old thief on pledge that I take him home and report his behaviour to his father, beat a woman to the ground mercilessly. When I urged him to stop, he turned on me.

On the other hand, I saw a Negro churchwoman help to blockade a street to stop a white taxi driver. After her sons had beaten him almost to unconsciousness, she helped them to rob him, leaving him in great agony on the street. Thus on those nights I saw violence degrade on every side. I heard men who usually talk reasonably demand that youth be given guns to shoot "police and uncle toms."

We pacifists urge non-violence because if change toward justice is to take place, it must be in an atmosphere where creative conflict and debate are possible. Wherever great force is used - and I am certain from what I saw that the force used by police was far more than necessary to maintain order - it is used to support the status quo and not to encourage real debate and creative conflict.

The riot has not encouraged real debate: it has given strength to the supporters of reaction. It has brought an injunction against certain groups. It has led

to the police commissioner's temporarily prohibiting rallies in the name of law and order. It has brought division of leadership where unity was needed if non-violent campaigns for justice are to be pursued. It has confused many young people. It has left the powers-that-be in a position to call for "law and order" for protection of white people - a very false position since the riot was economic rather than basically racial.

Perhaps the most important lesson I learned from this experience is that non-violence is relevant to a degree - even when fear, brutality and violence rage. On the second afternoon of the riot, I spoke at a big Harlem church. Several speakers preceded me, calling upon youth to use violence. One speaker called for a Mau Mau, another for armed resistance to police. Another said: "I want 100 men to leave this church with me for guerilla warfare."

Then I spoke and urged non-violence. I was booed, applauded and then booed again. I appealed for 100 men to join me in the streets and work non-violently "to end the brutality toward all men." When the meeting ended, I rose to leave the church and was surrounded by a hostile group intent on beating me. From the audience came 75 men who moved in to protect me without violence. The hostile group scattered.

That night and for three succeeding nights, those 75 men walked in danger through the streets and were responsible for helping many persons and saving many lives. Some were beaten, as I was, for advocating non-violence, but only one deserted.

And so, reliving those four nights of terror and ugliness, I become more dedicated to non-violence, for I see clearly how resort to violence dehumanises all who are caught up in its whirlpool.

Jim Peck

A reply to Robert Calese

In a riotous, racist situation such as occurred in Harlem, to put in white demonstrators, as Robert Calese suggested, would simply inflame tempers and worsen the violence. Calese tells about going into Harlem during that period, but if he ventured into the trouble spots, he might well have suffered the same fate as the white cab driver whom Bayard Rustin mentions in his article. I therefore think it was wise of the Congress of Racial Equality to use its Negro members exclusively for this project.

Use of a disproportionate number of white police inflamed the situation. James Farmer, in an article in the forthcoming *CORElator*, relates an incident in which CORE members got a sizeable number of riotous youths away from a trouble spot by starting a march toward another section. All went well until, after marching a few blocks, a group of white cops confronted the marchers and inflamed them into violence.

As for Calese's suggestion that CORE should have been out in the streets demonstrating during the riots, I think this would have been utter madness. It would have served only to falsely equate and identify non-violent civil rights demonstrations with rioting, which the rightists do anyway. Actually, the two have no relation except that the failure of city officials to act on the demands of the civil rights organisations - jobs, schools, housing and a halt to police brutality - sparked the rioting.

Letters to the Editor

they are forced to live by their wits seeking out a living by gambling, selling numbers or dope and sometimes selling themselves. They revolted in the only way left to them. They would make society listen. Like a child in an attention-seeking tantrum, they resorted to violence in a loud outcry of despair. We pacifists claim that social progress must spring from social justice. In

the riotous, I think this would have been utter madness. It would have served only to falsely equate and identify non-violent civil rights demonstrations with rioting, which the rightists do anyway. Actually, the two have no relation except that the failure of city officials to act on the demands of the civil rights organisations - jobs, schools, housing and a halt to police brutality - sparked the rioting.

And so, reliving those four nights of terror and ugliness, I become more dedicated to non-violence, for I see clearly how resort to violence dehumanises all who are caught up in its whirlpool.

many others would willingly see that the money is used wisely and well to enable the needy to help themselves. While each must decide for himself how much he gives it could be taken as a rough guide that the above result would be reached by giving about one-eighth of what one now pays in tax. Incidentally, if you covenant your gift the Government will augment it by over 60% by returning some of the tax you have paid.

MLF

It is time we took a closer look not only at the NATO multilateral force but also at the various campaigns against it. It is common knowledge that at the

moment the Communist-front World Council of Peace is prompting a vast anti-MLF offensive. Its purpose is, of course, to promote the power-political advantage of the Communist bloc.

The International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace at its recent meeting in Florence decided to go into action against MLF, but the setting of its policy is by no means clear.

Those of us whose opposition to MLF is but one expression of our general opposition to all bombs and all military alliances can expect to find ourselves either in the company of some unwelcome friends or at least in a very confused situation.

We have had similar experiences in the past - in the Cuban and Greek demonstrations. Things can become extremely difficult. By way of initial remedy we need to make our independent position very plain indeed *immediately*.

We have lived from hand to mouth long enough. It is now imperative that the movement has a policy for the future of Europe as a whole. In the light of such a general policy we can make an intelligent approach to a particular problem such as MLF.

At present there are four *military* views of the future of the continent and from the non-aligned point of view there is nothing to commend any of them. There is the US-German view as embodied in MLF, the Gaullist Franco-German approach, the new British military plan and the expectations of Khrushchev and his Communist critics. The old NATO-Warsaw Pact line-up is more or less in ruins.

MLF is just one of the dangers. What of the others? The French Prime Minister has just been to the Pacific to inspect preparations for his impending nuclear tests there; and there is apparently evidence to suggest that atmospheric tests may recently have taken place in the Sahara. So much for the test-ban treaty. . . . The peoples of

Letters to the Editor

Cyprus are the victims of a vicious East-West struggle and their situation worsens from day to day. The US and most of the states of Europe including the USSR are pouring arms into Africa and the Middle East. Germany remains divided for East-West military reasons and the Berlin Wall is still up. The kind of civil liberties that would make possible the creation of an independent peace movement on the other side of the Iron Curtain do not yet exist. There are new vicious emergency laws in Germany and France. Rearmament and conscription intensify throughout the whole of Europe.

If we were to start to list the opposite of all these things we should be beginning to define the kind of Europe we want, but the purpose of this letter is more to raise the question than to answer it. When we have the answer the way to a principled anti-MLF campaign will be clear - and not before.

Peter Cadogan,
5 Acton Way, Cambridge.

Overseas aid

In your issue of April 24 you mentioned the proposal by the Society of Friends to the Government that the amount sent from this country each year to help the underdeveloped countries should be increased to at least three times the present scale. This could be met by an increase in, for example, the standard rate of income tax by 1s in the £. Here is a clear case where the individual need not await Government action. May we recommend to all those who support the idea that they examine their purses and their consciences and give, now, the equivalent of an increase of 1s in the £ on their income tax assessment to those organisations working to help the less privileged two-thirds of mankind. Apart from Friends own work through Friends Service Council, the Freedom from Hunger Campaign, War on Want and

many others would willingly see that the money is used wisely and well to enable the needy to help themselves. While each must decide for himself how much he gives it could be taken as a rough guide that the above result would be reached by giving about one-eighth of what one now pays in tax. Incidentally, if you covenant your gift the Government will augment it by over 60% by returning some of the tax you have paid.

Alan Staley,
For the Peace & Service Committee,
Brighton Meeting of the Society of Friends,
39 St Keyna Avenue, Hove 3, Sussex.

Preventive detention

Answering your comment on "The end of PD" (July 31), this Council regards the question of the Government's intention to abolish preventive detention with some reservation. No one has yet seen the intended Bill, and until it can be examined in detail our thoughts on the subject must necessarily be incomplete. Nevertheless, assuming the facts as reported in the press, we do feel that any attempt to apply increased prison sentences in place of PD must be fought. If this is the true intention of the Bill we would regard it as a retrograde step for one reason at least - there is no serious effort by the authorities to eliminate our many out-dated prisons such as Brixton, Wandsworth, Holloway, Stafford and Dartmoor, to name but a few - and to send anyone to such prisons today, for terms from two to a maximum of fourteen years, which might happen in special cases if we read the press reports aright, cannot be progressive and would indeed confirm our impression already, that it is a good step backwards.

Charles Varney,
Chairman, Prison Reform Council,
17 Canadian Avenue,
London S.E.6.

Not loved

It has been said that "all the world loves a lover." The same cannot be said of peaceworkers. For myself, while participating in various peace actions during the past twelve months, I have been refused entry into Austria and Greece; threatened by the Mafia in Sicily; deported from Malta; imprisoned in England; and challenged to a duel in London. The experiences of others would also amply bear out this point.

However, one way of crossing boundaries, particularly for those in other countries who are isolated, is through the pages of Peace News. It often means a financial loss to us to help keep these people in touch, but there would be a greater loss if we did not. Please help us to cross frontiers; any contribution, large or small, will be equally appreciated, and certainly not wasted.

PETER MOULE

total since February 1

£866

contributions this week £104 10 9
we need £5000 by February 1965
Please make cheques etc payable
to Clare Annesley Treasurer
Peace News 5 Caledonian Road
London N1

New bid to stifle SA Liberal Party

Wendy Butlin reports: During the month of July the South African Government intensified its efforts to put an end to the South African Liberal Party. The party itself has not been declared illegal but a great many of its leading members have been banned or are being detained under the 90-day detention law.

Dr Hans Meidner, who was chairman of the Natal division of the party and who recently arrived here from South Africa, told a press conference last Tuesday that he thinks the Minister of Justice does not want to ban the Liberal Party itself, because he wishes to maintain

Civil Defence secrets: three held

Three members of the Kent Committee of 100 were arrested early on the morning of Thursday, August 6, and the police recovered documents from their car which are files marked "restricted"; they related to Government defence plans in the event of nuclear attack. The authorities disclosed last Sunday that secret Civil Defence documents were stolen in two raids in Barkingside and Ilford some months ago. The documents found in the detained men's car are some of the stolen items.

Among the documents was a secret list of people selected by the Government to man underground shelters built as Regional Seats of Government in case of war. The Special Branch are apparently convinced that they have tracked down the "Spies for Peace," whose movement first became known in April last year, when it published pamphlets stating the locations of the RSGs and organised a demonstration at the RSG at Warren Row near Reading, during the Easter march from Aldermaston to London.

Two of the men are in Brixton Prison and the other, aged 19, is in Ashford Remand Centre. As *Peace News* went to press it was understood that the three were to appear at Stratford Magistrates' Court, East London, on Thursday.

the facade of allowing opposition. However, by the technique he is adopting he is obviously trying completely to stifle Liberal opinion. Dr Meidner said that the Liberal Party is the only existing functioning organ in South Africa in which black and white citizens co-operate - in fact, this co-operation is the party's main aim.

South African Liberals support the principle of universal adult suffrage; also they have rejected violence as a way of solving the problems of South Africa. The party has approximately 3,000 members, that is, with subscriptions paid up and holding membership cards. There are also a considerable number "in the rear" who don't want their names to appear on cards or files.

The Government cannot ignore the party because, although it is not very large, it appeals to "the young, thinking people." Among the banned and detained members are many from the universities. A list published by the party includes 17 people being detained and 10 people who have been banned. Among those banned is Mr Peter Brown, the National

Chairman. The National President, Mr Alan Paton, had his passport taken away some years ago. About 12 people have been warned to desist from activities on behalf of the Liberal Party and several people have had their premises searched. The published lists are, however, known to be incomplete.

Detention under the 90-day law means that the detainee is kept in solitary confinement. He has no visitors, he cannot consult a lawyer and the police are not obliged to tell his relatives where he is. At any time of the day or night he is liable to be interrogated by people trained to break down the personality. The authorities are not obliged to bring any charge at all, and at the end of the 90 days the victim may be released or held for a further 90 days.

A banned person cannot publish anything and cannot attend any gathering however small or apparently unconnected with politics. Another former SA Liberal Party member, Mrs Marion Friedmann, told of someone she knew who was banned and was forbidden to attend her child's birthday party which

was taking place in the house she lived in.

Dr Meidner's experience of attending and addressing Liberal Party meetings in South Africa was that there were always large numbers of police in the hall taking notes and quite often police at the doors tape-recording the proceedings. Frequently the police use the device of pretending to speak on behalf of some broadcasting service and ask speakers for copies of their speeches. After African members have attended meetings they almost invariably have police visiting their homes, searching and questioning them.

Contact, the South African Liberal magazine, is struggling to keep going under extremely difficult conditions. It has had a succession of different editors. As Dr Meidner said "If you agree to be editor of *Contact* you know it will not be for very long."

Mr Mark Bonham Carter of the British Liberal Party also attended the press conference and expressed his Party's solidarity with its colleagues in South Africa.

'Suicidal belligerence' in Vietnam, says Russell

On August 7 Bertrand Russell issued a statement in which he said that the American attacks on North Vietnam had no justification and that they reflected the disastrous consequences of United States policy in South East Asia.

"The war in South Vietnam," the statement says, "is a popular national revolution which has a non-communist leadership and massive national popular backing. The war is conducted despite the offer of all parties but the Americans to accept a neutral solution in accordance with the Geneva conferences of 1954 and 1962. The war in South Vietnam has seen seven million people placed in barbed wire camps patrolled by machine gun bearing guards and police dogs. 160,000 have died, 700,000 have been maimed, 350,000 imprisoned and 16,000 internment camps constructed

made by United States planes. In one year, 14,000 villages were destroyed.

"This brutal policy has done irreparable damage to the United States apart from the horrible suffering it has caused the people of Vietnam.

"The United States must be made to stop this war and to agree to the request of U Thant and of world opinion to negotiate now. The Geneva 14-nation conference should be immediately convened after a cease-fire.

"I hope the United Nations will demand American agreement to a conference such as that held in 1954 or condemn the United States as an aggressor. The alternative will be acquiescence in American extension of this war to the North, the involvement of China, and, quite inexorably, a world war. This must not be permitted. What worse can Goldwater do, if the men who claim to

A. J. Muste, National Chairman of the Committee for Non-violent Action (CNVA), in a telegram of August 5 to President Johnson, said:

"The Committee for Non-violent Action deplores the attack made by United States warships and planes on North Vietnamese vessels and installations. The whole policy of American military intervention in Vietnam and the attempt to police South-East Asia and other distant parts of the world is politically and morally wrong and bound to lead to disaster. Let us reflect on how the American people would feel if foreign and unfriendly warships were cruising off our own shores thousands of miles from their home base. We urge withdrawal of the Seventh Fleet from the Gulf of Tonkin and of American troops from South Vietnam, and steps to abandon policies based on nuclear mili-

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Peter Moule, acting National secretary of the Committee of 100, told *Peace News* on Tuesday that the Regional Committees of 100 are considering what forms of action and support they can undertake should serious charges be brought against the three men.

Londoners to help Irish itinerants

Gratton Puxon writes: Many more families have now joined Itinerant Action, the organisation campaigning for better conditions for travelling people in Ire-

land - in fact, this co-operation is the party's main aim.

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Colour bar strike in Glasgow

David Healy reports: About half the 500 bus drivers and conductors at the Old Kilpatrick depot of the Scottish Motor Transport Company, near Glasgow, staged two strikes last week over the employment of coloured workers.

The strikes - on Monday, August 3, and Saturday, August 8 - each lasted no more than a few hours.

The strikers claimed that coloured workers are willing to work unusual shifts and under conditions which white crews would not tolerate. The employment of coloured crews has been increased recently and representations have been

made to the management without effect during the past few weeks, a striker said.

Mr Arthur Newman, traffic manager of the company, said later that this was the first time there had been any trouble about colour, and it came as a surprise. No representations had been made to him by the union, he said.

Eighteen men out of the total force at the depot are coloured, he added, and a further eight workers will join the depot shortly from training school.

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The Transport and General Workers' Union, told the crews that the union will not support any action to prevent the employment of coloured people.

The shop steward for the bus crews, Mr Adam Conn, would not speak of a colour bar - he would only refer to "foreign workers." There was high unemployment in the area, and the demand was for an agreed percentage of foreign workers. He did not say what this percentage should be.

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Gratton Puxon writes: Many more families have now joined Itinerant Action, the organisation campaigning for better conditions for travelling people in Ireland. A total of 57 families, numbering more than 300 people, are at present camping as squatters on the outskirts of Dublin at Ballyfermot.

The camp has its own football club, a weekly wall newspaper, called *Corib* - meaning in the travellers' language "Fight" - and regular social activities are arranged.

The local authorities, however, have cut off the public pumps in the area in order to deprive the families of a water supply. Men are also engaged fencing up all possible alternative sites.

To organise fresh protests at this situation, a London Committee of Itinerant Action International will, it is hoped, be established at a meeting at the Lucas Arms, 245 Grays Inn Road, London W.C.1, at 8 p.m. today, August 14, and that this committee will be representative of a number of organisations concerned with peace and social justice.

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The shop steward for the bus crews, Mr Adam Conn, would not speak of a colour bar - he would only refer to "foreign workers." There was high unemployment in the area, and the demand was for an agreed percentage of foreign workers. He did not say what this percentage should be.

Mr Joseph Gilroy of the Transport and General Workers' Union again stated that no action which discriminated against coloured people would win union support.

On Sunday, August 9, the crews who had taken part in the strike on Saturday claimed that they had been locked out.

Mr Adam Conn said: "The management have refused to allow all those who took part in the strike yesterday to go on shift today (Sunday). They have been told to come back tomorrow.

"This is not a question of colour bar," he added. "In an area of high unemployment we should look after our own first without giving jobs to immigrants."

The bar on foreign workers, Mr Conn said, does not include people from Southern Ireland. He said that recently in the conductors' training school 16 new conductors were taken in and eight of them were coloured.

Mr Conn refused to comment on a statement that the crews intended to hold a strike every Saturday until their demands are met. He only said that whatever happens will depend on the outcome of talks between the management and the union.

NZ army rejects conscription

A. C. Barrington writes from New Zealand: A conference of the New Zealand National Party (the party of the present Holyoake Government) recently passed a resolution urging the reintroduction of universal compulsory military training. At present only a proportion, selected by ballot, of those reaching the age of twenty are required to train, and there is provision for the exemption of conscientious objectors. This limited selection by ballot was introduced by the National Party Government on coming to power four years ago after the Labour Government had abolished the previous limited service scheme.

On July 29, the Wellington paper *The Dominion* carried this report:

"The New Zealand Army has rejected the idea of universal compulsory military training, the Chief of the General Staff, Major General L. W. Thornton, said in Dunedin today. General Thornton

was commenting on a remit passed by the National Party conference urging the Government to reintroduce the universal system.

"We considered the universal system of training at the time when limited service was proposed, General Thornton said, but on the Army side, we rejected the idea of universal compulsory military training. After all, there is no point in training men unless you are training them for a particular national force with particular requirements.

"For that sort of force you must have the equipment. The Government has decided it can only provide equipment for one brigade group and its necessary support groups for overseas."

The Army was "quite happy" with the present system of training. It had found the 20-year-olds responded better to training than the 18-year-olds called up in the previous system.